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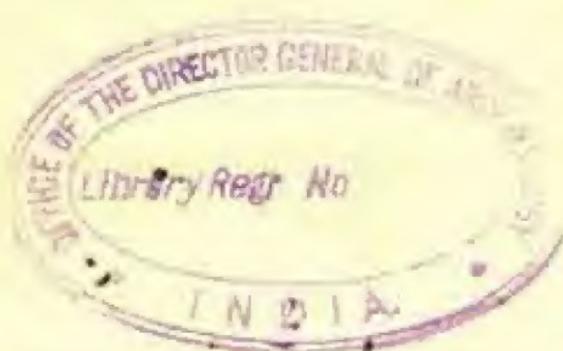




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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.





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JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

SOME PONTIC ERAS.

HAVING recently had the opportunity of going carefully through the whole series of Pontic coins, I have collected some new facts and observations concerning the eras used in that region, which may be of some interest even to the not strictly numismatical reader.

I.—COINS OF PYTHODORIS.

The drachms of Queen Pythodoris, as is well known, are of two types: one with the laureate head of Augustus, the other with the head of Tiberius, recognisable, notwithstanding the absence of any legend, by features of much greater breadth. On both types the inscription of the reverse reads ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΙΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ Ξ (year 60). It has been argued that as both coins date from the same year, though bearing different heads, they must have been struck in the very year when Tiberius succeeded Augustus, i.e. A.D. 14. The origin of the era would be therefore $(60+1)-14=47$ B.C., in other words the battle of Zela.

This reasoning is not quite correct. Pontic years begin, of course, towards the equinox of autumn, say October 1. On the other hand, as Professor W. M. Ramsay has well observed, eras connected with an historical event always

start from the first day of the local year in which the event took place, even if it happened towards the end of the year. *E.g.*, "the era of liberty" on the coins of Amisus, though related, as we know by Strabo, to the fall of the tyrant Stratoc subsequent to the battle of Actium (September 2, 31 B.C.), begins in October, 32 B.C., and not, as Imhoof writes, in 31 B.C. Now Julius Caesar won the battle of Zela, as we learn from a Roman calendar, on August 2, 47 B.C. Therefore, an era connected with this battle ought to begin in October, 48 (not 47) B.C., and year 60 Pythodor. would be October, 12 A.D., to October, 13 A.D. But as Tiberius succeeded on August 19, 14 A.D., a coin of year 12-13 A.D. with his head is clearly impossible.

The conclusion is, that as the Pythodoric era really starts from October, 47, it has nothing to do with the battle of Zela; indeed this battle had no effect either on the fundamental organization of Pontus, or on the fate of the Polemons, a family not mentioned in Pontus before 36 B.C. (Dio, xlix. 25). We have here simply a "Cassarian era," with the same starting point as that of Gabala in Syria.

To return to our coins, it is commonly assumed that the Augustus drachm was struck before the death of that emperor, and the Tiberius drachm after. But this supposition is highly improbable. Why should Pythodorus have chosen to strike coins with the head of Augustus just the very last months of his life? Far more likely is it that both drachms were struck simultaneously, immediately after the accession of Tiberius, say in September, 14 A.D. On the Augustan coin, the emperor is represented as deified; father and adopted son are thus associated in a common homage.

That both coins are contemporary is also confirmed by the analogy of their reverse types, the Capricorn for Augustus, the Balance (or, on a Paris specimen, Sun in Balance) for Tiberius. The astrological meaning of these types needs no demonstration, but their exact attribution is a matter of doubt, and deserves to be stated more precisely. The Capricorn is surely the genethliac sign of Augustus, as expressly stated by several authors.¹ But, as Augustus was born on September 23, 63 B.C., at day-break, the Capricorn cannot be the sign under which the sun rose at this period (this was the Balance), nor, what in this case is identical, the sign that rose above the horizon at the moment of his birth. Perhaps, as M. Bouché Leclercq has conjectured, the Capricorn was the horoscopic sign of Augustus' conception (December 23, nine months before his birth).

As to the Balance, M. Bouché Leclercq, in his excellent work on Greek astrology (p. 369, note 1), contends that it belongs also to Augustus, as being the sign under which he was born. But there is no evidence whatever that the Balance was ever connected with Augustus. The only text² quoted by M. Bouché Leclercq (*Manilius*, iv. 548 sq.—“felix sequato genitus sub pondere Librae—illum urbes et regna trecent,” etc.) clearly refers to Tiberius, for it is an old mistake, unfortunately repeated by that able

¹ Germanicus, *Aratea*, 558 sq.; Suetonius, *August.* 94 ad fin., *Manilius*, *Astron.*, ii. 507 sq. Moreover, many coins of the type mentioned by Suetonius.

² He also quotes, but hardly to the point, Virgil, *Georg. i.*, 22, and *Manilius*, iv. 776: “qui (i.e. libra) genitus Caesarque mens cum condidit urbem,” an undoubtedly spurious line, which the older editors corrected (?) into “qua genitus cum fratre Remus (!) hanc condidit urbem,” but which was justly rejected by Bentley.

scholar, to suppose that the four first books of the *Astronomica* were written under Augustus, and only the fifth under his successor. Lachmann, and more recently Freier and Schanz, have convincingly proved that the whole poem was written or at least published under Tiberius, to whom it is dedicated. So Sallet was quite right to attribute the *Libra* to Tiberius. But how would the *Libra* be his genethliae sign, either of birth or of conception, he having been born on November 16, 42 B.C. (Sueton, *Tib.* 5), and consequently conceived about February 16?

The answer is that in many systems the genethliae sign was not the sign in which the sun rose, but the sign that rose above the horizon at the precise moment of the conception or birth (see Bouché Leclercq, p. 384). If the theme is one of birth, as on November 16 the sun rises about 7 o'clock A.M. in the Scorpion, we may presume that Tiberius was born about 9 o'clock A.M., the *Libra* being the sign immediately to the east of the Scorpion. I will not conclude without mentioning that I have had in my hands a paper impression of a drachm of Pythodoris with the same inscription and date as the known specimens, but with quite different types (obverse, head of queen with hair twisted; reverse, cornucopiae). I am not, however, ready to vouch for the genuineness of this coin.

II.—ANTONIA TRYphaena.

The coins struck under the reign of Polemon II may be roughly divided into three classes:—

I. Coins with or without the King's portrait.¹ Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ. Reverse, head of an emperor, prince, or empress (Claudius, Agrippina, Nero,

Britannicus¹), with the regnal year of Polemon (from **ΙΒ** = 12 to **ΚΓ** = 23).

II. With names of King Polemon and Queen Tryphaena; always the King's portrait, sometimes the Queen's. No dates.

III. With portrait and name of Queen Tryphaena, portrait of King Polemon (but not his name), and the regnal years **ΙΖ** = 17 (Berlin), and **ΙΗ** = 18 (British Museum).

These last coins, of extreme scarcity, have sometimes been chronologically mixed with those of Class I.; they would fall, therefore, in the beginning of the reign of Nero. But it seems quite incredible that Polemon should have inscribed his own regnal years on coins from which his name is absent, and no less improbable, that having once begun to strike coins with the Emperor's effigy, he should have suppressed it, especially under a prince as jealous of his prerogative as Nero. This is also the reason why I cannot accept Imhoof's proposal (*Zeitschrift*, xx. 267) to substitute Tryphaena for Agrippina on the drachms with a female portrait, dated years **ΙΒ** (12) to **ΙΕ** (15). Neither the shape of the diadem, nor the iconographic considerations—of very slight weight in this series—can prevail against historical reasons.

I am therefore inclined to think that the coins of Class III. must be placed quite at the beginning of the series, and that the regnal years they bear are those of Tryphaena, not of her son Polemon. If we admit that they were struck in the very first years of the joint

¹ The pretended drachm with Caligula's head (Paris Collection) is very doubtful. The coin is of a barbarous style; the Emperor may be Nero and the date **ΓΚ** (23) instead of **Γ** (3).

reign of Polemon and his mother, they will enable us to determine the as yet unknown date of the death of Pythodoris.

We know from Strabo (xii. 3, 29) that Pythodoris had three children by her husband Polemon I. Of these, the eldest, named like his father, was associated with his mother in the government of the kingdom, but without the regal title; he seems to have been dead when Strabo published his *Geography* (19 or 20 A.D.), for this author speaks of him in the imperfect tense: *αυτοὶ μὲν οἱ γενέτειρες τῷ μητρὶ τούτῳ αρχῆν*. The second son, Zeno-Artaxias, was King of Armenia from 18 A.D. So there remained only the daughter, Antonia Tryphaena, widow of Cotys the Sapacean, King of the Thracian Odrysae. Consequently, when Pythodoris died, Tryphaena succeeded legally to her title, although Tiberius did not allow her to take possession of the kingdom of Pontus, which seems to have been put under sequestration, whilst Tryphaena took up her abode at Cyzicus.

An interesting document of this first abortive reign of Tryphaena is the leaden counter of the Margarites Collection (*Rer. num.* 1886, p. 26): "ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΣ ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΗΣ. Sceptre. *Rer. A* in an incuse circle." Itaka A for a regnal year (year 1). Later on Caligula restored the children of Tryphaena respectively to the thrones of Thrace, Pontus and Lesser Armenia. This happened, according to Dio⁴ (lxix. 12) in the year 38 A.D.; we can add that it was towards the end of that year, for the coins of Polemon II, with date 1Z (17), bear sometimes the head of *Claudius*, who died October 13, 54 A.D. (specimen in the

⁴ Dio calls young Polemon, by mistake, *son* of Polemon; he ought to have said *grandson*.

Milan Collection), more often the head of Nero; therefore year 17 Polem. = October 54-55 A.D., and the starting-point of the era is October 38 not 37.³ Tryphaena, as we know by the coins, reigned at first jointly with Polemon II in Pontus; like Louis XVIII at his restoration, she reckoned her years from the beginning of her legitimate reign, i.e., from the death of her mother Pythodoris. If, therefore, the Berlin coin of Class III, with year 12 (17) of Tryphaena, was struck, as is very probable, A.D. 38-9, the consequence is that year 1 of Tryphaena coincides with 22-3 A.D., and that Pythodoris died between October, 22 A.D. and 23 A.D.

III.—AMASIA.

Dr. Imhoof's note on the era of Amasia (*Griechische Münzen*, p. 556) is not as thorough as this excellent scholar's arguments are wont to be. His list of dated coins is fairly complete, but he fails in the conclusion "that the known dates admit of any origin for the era between 3 B.C. and 1 A.D." This is not the case, and moreover, the origin he chooses at random—2 B.C., era of Sebastopolis—although approved by Kubitschek (art. Aero in *Pauly-Wissowa*, e.g. 645), is surely wrong. To solve the problem the following assured dates must be kept in mind:

* In consequence, the famous decree of Cyzicus (Dittenberger, 2nd ed. No. 365), dated Thargelion (May), under the hipparchate of Caligula, which mentions the restoration of the three kings as a recent event, does not belong to year 37 A.D. Dittenberger contends, but to year 39. This date has already been proposed by Millingen on the very apt grounds that Drusilla (+ 38) is already mentioned as a goddess, in whose honour games are to be given in presence of Tryphaena and her sons.

Summer, 209*—Geta named Augustus.
 February, 211—Septimius Severus dies. Caracalla succeeds.
 " 212—Geta dies.
 March, 235—Alexander Severus dies.

Almost all larger collections possess coins of Amasia with the legend **ΓΕΤΑΣ ΚΕΒΑ**(στότ), dated year **CH** = 208 (reverse types: Pallas, Tyche, Nike, Asklepios). These coins cannot have been struck before October, 208-9 A.D. (as Geta was not created Augustus before that year) nor later than October, 209-10. For suppose 208 Amas. = 210-11, then 209 Amas. = October, 211-12; but we have coins of the year **CΘ** = 209 (types: flaming altar; Paris, Vienna, Imhoof, Loebbecke) with the effigy and name of Septimius Severus, who died in February, 211; therefore it is utterly impossible that 209 Amas. = October, 211-12. Thus far we have still the choice between the equations

$$\begin{aligned} 208 \text{ Amas.} &= 208-9 \text{ A.D.} \\ \text{and } 208 \text{ Amas.} &= 209-10 \text{ A.D.} \end{aligned}$$

But the second alternative is rendered in its turn impossible by a group of coins of Severus Alexander (types: altar, Tyche, Hades, Serapis; Europa) with the date **CΔΔ** (234). For if 208 Amas. = 209-10 A.D., then 234 Amas. = 235-6 A.D.; but Alexander died in March, 235! Thus of all possibilities only one remains, viz., 208 Amas. = 208-9 A.D., and consequently the era of Amasia begins *certainly* in October, 1 A.D., and has nothing to do with the era of Sebastopolis. What circumstances led to the annexation of Amasia, which had hitherto

* Not 211, as Hill gives it in his *Handbook*, p. 284: a very rare mistake in an excellent little work, which has become rapidly and deservedly the *rade-mécum* of all numismatists.

"belonged to kings" (Strabo, xii. 3, 39) remains unknown. Of course they are quite independent of the annexation of Paphlagonia, which, as we now know quite positively by the inscription of Neoclaudiopolis (Cumont, *Rer. Et. gr.* 1901, p. 26 *sq.*) took place in 65 B.C.⁷

IV.—SEBASTELA AND SEBASTOPOLIS-HERACLEOPOLIS.

An inscription of Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis (Soulou Serai), ably commented on by Léon Renier (*Revue Archéologique*, 1877, i. p. 199), identifies year ΘΑΡ (139) of this city with the 21st *potes tas tribunitia* of Hadrian (December, 137-8), Aelius Commodus (died January 1, 138) being Caesar. The consequence is that the era begins October, 2 B.C., and this agrees with the evidence of coins. In the neighbouring town of Sebasteia (Sivas), as Imhoof has recently pointed out (*Zeitschrift*, xx. 264; *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 5), the coins of Verus with year 168, and of Valerian with year 254, lead to an era beginning between October, 2 B.C. and 1 A.D. There can be no doubt, however, that the real origin is 2 B.C. as at Sebastopolis, for both towns belonged to the same district, Colopene (Pliny, vi. 8), and formed the nucleus of the province of Pontus Galaticus, established at the death of Ateporix (Strabo, xii. 3, 37).

I must, however, protest against the common opinion that identifies Sebasteia with the town of Megalopolis, founded by Pompey. Strabo says expressly (xii. 3, 37) that the townships of Zela and Megalopolis (the latter including Colopene and Camisene) were pieced out by

⁷ I omit to discuss the era of Comana, because Kubitschek (col. 648), correcting Imhoof, has rightly shown that its starting point can only be October, 84 or 85 A.D.

subsequent generals (*i.e.* Anthony and Augustus) between the high priests of Zela and Comana and Ateporix; that later on the lot of Ateporix was reduced to a province, the remainder being divided between Dyteutos (the priest of Comana) and Pythodoris. The part of Pythodoris included now *Zelitis* and *Megalopolitis*; this is also stated xii. 3, 31. If therefore Megalopolis belonged still to Pythodoris about 19 A.D., how can it be the same place as Sebasteia, whose era (*i.e.* annexation to Rome) starts from 2 B.C.? Sebasteia may be Carana—named by Strabo as the chief town of the new province—unless Carana be rather Sebastopolis. As to the exact site and ulterior name of Megalopolis, we have not as yet the slightest clue. But it is better to own our ignorance than to shelter it under false knowledge.

THEODORE REINACH.

II.

NOTE ON A GOLD COIN OF ADDEDOMAROS.

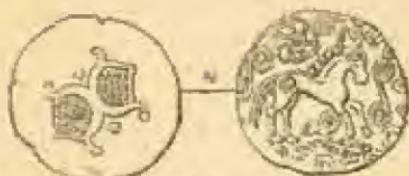


Fig. 1.

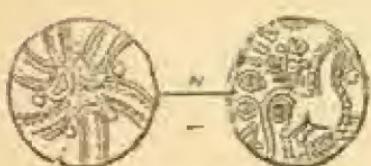


Fig. 2.

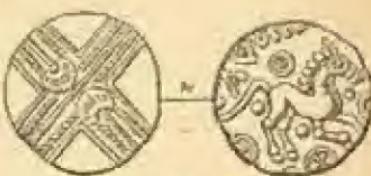


Fig. 3.

In January, 1856, rather more than forty-five years ago, I communicated to this Society a paper on the attribution of certain ancient British coins to Adedemaros, a prince whose name was then for the first time enrolled on the list of British rulers. I now lay before the Society another specimen of his coinage, not as exhibiting a new type, but as adding a new locality to the list of places where coins of Adedemaros have been found.

The type of the coin is that of my Plate XIV. 1.¹ (Fig. 1.)

¹ *Obr. 4*—Ornament consisting of two narrow solid crescents back to back, the cusps retorted and terminating

in pellets; in the interior of each crescent a chevron-shaped compartment enclosing five pellets; a pellet in each angle between the crescents.

Rev.—ADDEDOMAROS (the upper portions of the letters ADDEDOM . . . only visible). Horse prancing to the right, his tail branched; above, a rosette and two ring-ornaments; beneath, a ring-ornament and a branch; in front, two ring-ornaments connected in the form of an &.

N. 86 grs.

This coin was found about two years ago in a field near a footpath leading from Tring to Drayton Beauchamp, close to the boundary between the counties of Herts and Bucks, but I am led to believe within the former county.

It is not a little remarkable that I have seen another coin of Addedomaros which was also found within a short distance of Drayton Beauchamp, in a field called Stockwell Piece, close to the Lower Icknield Way. This was dug up about 1897, and is of the type of my Plate XIV, 5 and 6 (Fig. 2).

Obv.—Starlike ornament consisting of six curved wreaths with three ribbed crescents in the centre.

Rev.—No traces of legend. Horse to the right; above, an ornament formed of three horses' noses; below, the usual cornucopia-like figure: in the exergue, a series of pellets.

N. 85½ grs.

I have an uninscribed gold coin found in the same field in 1878. It is engraved in my Plate K, No. 14, and has a cruciform ornament on the obverse filling the fields, and on the reverse a horse to the right; above it two solid crescents, back to back; weight 85 grains. The horse is much like that on the coin last described, so that possibly

this piece may be an uninscribed coin struck under Addedomarus.

As is well known there are three distinct types of the inscribed coinage of Addedomarus, which differ mainly in the device on the obverse, though there are also salient differences in the horse and its adjuncts on the reverse. Regarding merely the obverse, the first type is that of the coin that we have first been considering, which for the sake of brevity I may term the double-mitre type; the second is that with three ribbed crescents in the centre from which proceed six curved wreaths, separated by pellets and ring-ornaments; and the third presents a cruciform ornament, consisting of two wreaths at right angles to each other, with two ribbed crescents in the centre.

As I pointed out many years ago, it is impossible to arrange the chronological sequence of these types with any degree of certainty, the representatives of which are all of much the same weight, but there are some reasons for supposing that the order in which I have mentioned them is that in which they originally appeared. An argument to the contrary might perhaps be found in the fact that the first type is the only one of which quarter-staters are known. The introduction of a smaller denomination into the currency seems to denote an advance in civilisation, and therefore also probably in time, but on the other hand it must be borne in mind that the quarter-staters belonging to the earliest type of the ancient British coinage are of by no means uncommon occurrence.

What is more remarkable is the fact that in the case of all three types the intermediate links in the chain of evolution that connect them with earlier ancient British coins are exceedingly difficult to find, if indeed they have

not still to be discovered. There can be no doubt that each type is legitimately descended from the Macedonian *Philippus*, but some links in the pedigree are, it appears, still wanting.

The first type (Fig. 1), that of the double-mitre, is more or less intimately connected with that of the coins of the Icenii, both in gold and silver, having two crescents back to back in the centre of the device. The connection with some of the gold coins of Dubnovellaunus is less evident, though the two crescents back to back and the branch on the reverse recall his coinage. The branched tail of the horse has an analogy with the tails of the horses on the coins of the Icenii, though in their case the branching is, as a rule, outwards and not inwards.

The second type (Fig. 2), with the six curved wreaths and the three crescents in the centre, is also anomalous. Though three crescents form the centre of the device on a unique gold coin of Antedrigus (Evans, Pl. XVIII. 21), and on an Icenian silver coin (Evans, p. 588), the curved wreaths are wanting upon them, and the general device is entirely different. The direction in which this type of Addedomarus points is, however, Icenian.

Analogies with the third type (Fig. 3), that of the two ribbed crescents in the centre of a cruciform ornament, are more readily found, but in all other cases the angles between the limbs of the cross are filled with minor decorations, and the spaces are not left blank as on the coins of Addedomarus. The nearest analogy is exhibited by a gold coin of the Icenii (Evans, Pl. XIV. 11), but this appears to be rather a derivative than a prototype.

Taken together the three types seem to show a relationship, more or less intimate, with those found on the coins of the Eastern Counties that are usually attributed to

the Icenii; but, as I have already remarked, there seem to be a certain number of types still to be discovered to complete the morphological sequence. Let us hope that future researches may still bring some of them to light.

There is, however, another point of view from which to consider the coinage of Addedomarus. The existence of these three widely differing types, struck by the same prince and found practically in the same district, points to a reign that must in all probability have extended over a considerable number of years; and this conclusion is corroborated by the fact that there is evidence of a large number of dies having been engraved for each separate type.

In my own collection are six specimens of type No. 1, and of no two can it be affirmed that they were undoubtedly struck from the same dies. The same is the case with three coins of type No. 2, and four of type No. 3, also in my own cabinet. It may be mentioned that one of these latter is an ancient forgery of bronze plated with gold, found at Chalfont Park, near Slough, Bucks. An ancient gold-plated forgery of type No. 1 was also found near Oxford.

Our only evidence as to the district over which Addedomarus reigned is to be derived from the "find-spots" of his coins, and it will be well here to recapitulate them under the heads of existing counties. They are as follows:—

Norfolk	Norwich.
Suffolk	Gawendish, Long Melford, Ipswich.
Essex	Brundon, Colchester, Halstead, Marks Tey.
Cambridge.	Barrington, Newmarket.
Northants.	Great Houghton.
Beds	Luton.

- Bucks . . . Drayton Beauchamp, Slough.
Oxon . . . Wood Eaton.
Kent . . . Reculver.

The evidence is therefore overwhelmingly in favour of fixing his territory in the Eastern Counties, with its centre probably in Essex.

As to the date of the reign of Addedomarus our only guides are the types, style of workmanship and the weight of his coins. As I have elsewhere pointed out, the inference to be drawn from all these sources is in favour of his belonging to a somewhat earlier date than that of Cunobeline. Although, as already stated, some links in the chain of evolution are wanted, the types and style of workmanship bear considerable analogies with those of the gold coins of both Tasciovanus and Dubnovellanus, while the weight corresponds with that of the earliest issue of the former of these two princes, and not with that of the gold coins of Cunobeline.

The usual weight of these latter does not exceed 84 grains, while the average weight of thirteen coins of Addedomarus in my own collection is 85½ grains, which is also the weight of some of the early coins of Tasciovanus bearing his name. It is possible that at an earlier date still he may have struck uninscribed coins, but placing those that I have cited at say 20 to 10 years B.C., we have a more or less trustworthy guide for assigning a date to Addedomarus. What his relations as a ruler in Essex and the Eastern Counties may have been with Dubnovellanus and Cunobelinus, both of whom seem successively to have occupied much the same district of country, is a question into which I cannot now enter. It affords tempting matter for speculation, but more facts are necessary in order to lay a firm foundation on which to

build. We must for the present be content to know that at a period not very remote from the Christian era a British prince, Addedomaros, reigned in what are now our Eastern Counties, and that he has left imperishable monuments of his power and civilisation in the coins which have now, not for the first time, been brought under your consideration.

Before quitting the subject it may not be unprofitable to add a few words with regard to one of the principal localities in Essex where coins of this class have been found.

It is unfortunate that we have no properly detailed account of the hoard of ancient British coins found at Marks Tey, which has already been frequently cited. Were such an account forthcoming it would do much to show what were the coins current with those of Addedomaros and to assist us in fixing his chronological position.

It is, however, to my mind doubtful whether there were not two distinct hoards of British coins found at Marks Tey, one in 1807 and the other about 1843. In the third edition of Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*,² in the description of Plate II, No. 40, a coin of Addedomaros of the type of that now exhibited, it is stated, "A large parcel of this type was found within five miles of Colchester in the year 1807. The metal was so base that their intrinsic value was only about five shillings and sixpence each." There can, I think, be but little doubt that the hoard referred to was found at Marks Tey, which place is just five miles from Colchester. I have in my collection a coin with a plain convex obverse of the

² Vol. ii. p. 272.

type Plate D, No. 1,³ stated to have been found at Marks Tey, of very base metal and weighing only 74 grains, which appears to come within this category as to value. The type belongs to a late date in the British coinage, as two or three specimens, one in my collection weighing 69 grains only, were present in the Savernake Forest hoard in company with silver coins of Epaticcus⁴ and Tiberius.

The coin of Addedomarus that is under consideration has been submitted to an experienced goldsmith and is reported to be about eleven carats fine, or worth £1 18s. 11d. per ounce. For a coin weighing 86 grains this would give an intrinsic value of nearly 7s., instead of the 5s. 6d. mentioned in Ruding. The more distinct notice of coins found at Marks Tey is in the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society for May 23rd, 1843. It is there stated the Rev. Henry Jenkins exhibited three gold British coins found at Marks Tey in the county of Essex, no date of discovery being mentioned. Two of these resemble No. 36, Plate II, of Ruding, the other is a variety of No. 38 in the same plate. In other words two of the Marks Tey coins there described are of the second type of Addedomarus, while the third closely resembles the uninscribed gold coin already mentioned as having been found near Drayton Beauchamp. A coin of the third type of Addedomarus, also found at Marks Tey, is in the Colchester Museum,⁵ so that all three of his types have been found at that place, whether all at the same time or at intervals it seems impossible to determine. A

³ *Ancient British Coins*, p. 80.

⁴ *Ancient British Coins*, p. 438.

⁵ *Ancient British Coins*, p. 578.

coin of Dubnovellaunus with the two crescents in the centre is stated to have been found at Marks Tey⁴ in 1850, but it possibly belongs to a find of an earlier period.

Whether two hoards were found at Marks Tey or only one, I fear that not much more information is to be gathered from them, and I only hope that what I have said on the subject will not be regarded as needlessly speculative or unjustifiably tedious.

JOHN EVANS.

⁴ *Ancient British Coins*, p. 203.

III.

BEDWIN AND MARLBOROUGH AND THE MONEYER CILDA.

BEDWIN is situate in the Kinwardston Hundred of Wiltshire, on the borders of Berkshire, six miles S.E. from Marlborough and the same distance S.W. from Hungerford. In Domesday it is called BEDEVINDE, and that record shows that it was a Royal burgh held by King Edward the Confessor and by his Norman successor, William the Conqueror. As a natural consequence it was "never gelded or hided," that is measured and assessed to the geld or tax. Domesday also shows that to this manor of BEDEVINDE there belonged twenty-five "burgesses" and that the town rendered a "firma unius noctis" with all customs, and further that Bristoard the priest then held the church, as his father had done in the time of King Edward, when, as at the time of Domesday, it was worth sixty shillings.

In early times this place was doubtless a centre of importance, a fact evidenced by the extensive earthworks known as Castle Hill (on Wilton Common) and Chisbury Castle (having an area of about fifteen acres), both in the immediate neighbourhood. A Roman road passes near by. I have not found any instance of coins having been minted here prior to the reign of Edward the Confessor,

but during that reign and subsequently it appears to have been an established place of mintage.

The following coins (those marked with an asterisk being in my cabinet) prove this proposition ; the descriptions are as under, the types being placed in the order observed in vol. ii. of the *British Museum Catalogue*.

* TYPE III.

Obr. — + EDPB RD REX . . Bust to left, diademed ; in front, sceptre (pommée). Around, inscription divided by bust ; outer circle.

Rev. — + CILDĀ ON BEDEPIN. Over short cross voided quadrilateral ornament with three pellets at each angle and one in centre. Around, inscription between two circles.

* TYPE IX (SOVEREIGN TYPE).

Obr. — EADPARD REX ANGLO.

Rev. — CILDĀ ON BEDEPIN.

* TYPE XI.

Obr. — + EADPARD RD RE. Bust to right, bearded ; wearing crown of two arches surmounted by three balls ; in front, sceptre (pommée). Around, inscription divided by bust ; outer circle.

Rev. — + CILDĀ ON BEDEPINNE. Short cross voided, each limb terminating in an incurved segment of a circle ; in centre, pellet. Around, inscription ; outer circle.

* TYPE XIII.

Obr. — + EADPARD RE. Bust facing, bearded ; wearing crown of two arches. Around, inscription between two circles divided above by the King's crown.

Rev. — + CILDĀ ON BEDEPI. Small cross pâtie. Around, inscription between two circles.

* TYPE XV.

Obr.—EAPARD REX A. Bust to right, bearded, wearing pointed crown, from which depends a fillet, terminating in three pellets; in front, sceptre (pommée). Around, inscription divided by bust; plain and beaded outer circles.

Rer.—EILDA ON BEDEPIN. Short cross voided; in centre, annulet; in each angle, pyramid springing from inner circle and terminating in pellet. Around, inscription between two plain circles and an outermost beaded circle.

The late Mr. Montagu had a coin of Edward the Confessor of type ii. (bust to left, diademed; *rer.* short cross voided), reading +EILD ON BEDEP.

The three coins described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* are all of type xi. Two of these read the same as mine of that type and the third reads +EILD ON BEDEPIN:

I have not been able to find any specimens of the coinage of Harold II minted here, but as the Bedwin moneyer, Cilda, struck coins for William I at this place, I think it is likely that Bedwin coins of Harold II may be in existence. As regards William I, I recently acquired a coin of the type Hawkins 233, which is, as far as I can ascertain, the only specimen known. It may be described—

Obr.—+PILLEMVS REX. Bust to left, crowned; in front, sceptre (pommée).

Rer.—+EILD ON BEDEPIN. Cross fleury; annulet in centre.

This coin more nearly resembles those of Harold II than any specimens of type 233 that I have seen: the legend begins immediately above the King's crown, instead of opposite the hand holding the sceptre. The Saxon character for the initial letter of the King's name is a square-

headed P instead of being like a Roman P, and this form is again repeated on the reverse, and finally the drawing of the head of the King is evidently copied from the head as portrayed on the coins of Harold II, the bust below the neck being added or drawn by way of supplement to the head of Harold.

As regards Marlborough, Domesday tells us that King William had from the third penny of "MERLEBERGE" £4, and that William de Belfou had one hide with one church in Marlborough worth thirty shillings. In the National Collection there are coins of types 236, 237, 238, 241 and 243, reading on the reverse as follows :

- 236. EILD ON MIERLIBI.
- 237. EILD ON MIERLEBER.
- 238. EILD ON MIERLI, MIERLEBH.
- 241. EILD ON MIERLEB.
- 243. EILD ON MIERLIBI.

There is in my cabinet also a coin of type 238, reading,

Obv. — +PILLEMV S REX ANI.

Rev. — +EID OIN MIERLEBH.

(This formerly belonged to the late Mr. Montagu.)

In the sale catalogue of the Hon. Robert Marsham (November, 1888), lot 234, a coin of type 244 is described reading on the reverse +EILD ON MIERLEBI.

From Mr. Hawkins's account of the Beaworth hoard in vol. i. of *Ruding*, it appears that there were five Marlborough coins of the Pax type, Hawkins, 241, seen by him, all struck by Cilda. I have one of these which reads—

Obr.—PILLELM REX.

Rer.—EILD ON MIERLEB, similar to the British Museum specimen.

From the above-mentioned account it appears that there was in the same hoard a coin of Hawkins, type 243, reading

Rer.—EILD ON MIERLBI

(the coin mentioned above as now being in the British Museum).

Having regard to the close proximity of Bedwin and Marlborough, and the identity of the name EILD or EILDA, appearing first on Edward the Confessor's coins of Bedwin, and subsequently on the Bedwin coin, type 233, of William I, and the coins of types, Hawkins, 236, 237, 238, 241, 243, and 244 of Marlborough, there can be little doubt that the EILD or EILDA of all these coins was the same person. It is to be noted that 234 and 239 are the only substantive types missing from type 233 (the first of William I) to type 244 (the first of William II) of Hawkins, as 235 and 240 are "mules" (or combination types), and 242 a common variety only of 241.

There is no difficulty in concluding that this was the case, as Edward the Confessor succeeded to the throne in 1042, and William I died in 1087, thus giving an intervening period of forty-five years, with say three years added for type i. of William II (viz. 244), for Gilda's work.

I have not discovered the name of any moneyer in addition to Cilda for the reign of Edward the Confessor or for those of William I and II for Bedwin or Marlborough, and I am therefore inclined to think that the mint and

Cilda were transferred to Marlborough early in the reign of William I, as the last coin of Bedwin is of the type 233 of Hawkins (undoubtedly the first type of that reign), and the next coin, the first of Marlborough, is of Hawkins 236 type (the third substantive type of William I).

I trust that the addition of Bedwin to the mint towns of the Conqueror, and the evidence afforded by the coins bearing the name of the moneyer CILDA at Bedwin, from the early part of the reign of Edward the Confessor to the early part of the reign of William I, the subsequent transfer of the mint and its only moneyer to Marlborough, and his continued work there as sole moneyer until the time when the coins of type 244 of Hawkins were struck, will prove of interest to the Society, and that the facts disclosed may in some degree help to fix the sequence of the types of the coins of William I and William II.

P. CARLYON-BRITTON.

IV.

ON A RARE STERLING OF HENRY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,



The following is a short description of the coin of which an illustration is given above :

Obv. — + HENRICVS COM. Profile bust to right, crown fleury, in right hand sceptre fleury ; inner circle.

Rev. — + WILHLM : ON : CARD = Cardui (one of the many renderings of the name of the city now called Carlisle). A cross fleury ; inner circle.

On the obverse, taken in order, the letters G, I, II and V of the name are distinct, while there are traces of the remaining letters in the intervening spaces, and the COM, for Comes, is quite clear.

On the reverse, there are traces of all the letters forming the moneyer's name WILHLM, and of these the W, G and M appear less indistinctly, the ON between colons is sufficiently clear, and of the mint name CARD, the first two and last letters are quite distinct.

The portrait and work resemble closely those of the best-made coins of King Stephen of the Hawkins 270 type and those of the sterlings of the cross-crosslet type attributed by the late Mr. Burns to Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

The type of the reverse is similar to the cross-fleury type of Henry's father, David I. of Scotland, except that the pellet in each angle of the cross is here omitted, and the obverse to some extent also resembles David's coins, which were in like manner copied from the coins of Stephen (Hawkins 270).

We have therefore disclosed by this specimen the name Henry, the title Comes for Earl or Count, the moneyer William, and the mint Carlisle, together with a reverse of a distinctly Scottish type.

The name and title alone do not, however, determine the personage for whom the coin was minted, and it is therefore proposed to shortly state the known facts in reference to the mint and moneyer, and then to examine some facts in the histories of the two personages having the most feasible claims of ownership.

Henry I struck the two last types (Hawkins 262 and 255) of his reign at Carlisle, thus fixing the commencement of his coinage in 1129 or thereabouts (a date confirmed by the Pipe Roll of the year 1130). The name DVRANT occurs on a 262 coin in my collection, and on a precisely similar coin, lot 292 in the late Mr. Montagu's catalogue (1896), now Mr. J. G. Murdoch's. EREBALD follows on 255 (Mr. L. A. Lawrence's collection), and afterwards William (son of Erebaldr or Erembold). Mr. W. J. Andrew states that the moneyer Erebaldr continues until about the middle of Stephen's reign and that William follows him and continues until 1179 (see *Num. Chron.*, 1901, pp. 140-142).

Taking the date 1144 as "about the middle of Stephen's reign," the coin under consideration cannot well be placed earlier than that date. So far as the name of the moneyer is concerned, as he continued to work at Carlisle until 1179, no help is afforded in fixing the latest limit of date.

Now as to the two claimants, Henry Fitz-David and Henry Fitz-Empress.

First as to Henry Fitz-David. He was son of David I., King of Scotland (who was also Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton in right of his wife Maud), born in 1110, knighted in 1130, created Earl of Huntingdon about March, 1136, and Earl of Northumberland 9th April, 1139, after the Battle of the Standard, 1138, in which he had fought against King Stephen. This creation was, it may be supposed, a politic act on the part of Stephen to try to settle amicably the questions between him and David of Scotland as to the disputed territories of Cumberland and Northumberland. Henry Fitz-David was also Lord of Carlisle and Doncaster. Stephen, who was of a chivalrous and generous disposition, may well also have had a personal liking for his kinsman Henry, who is described by Ethelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, "*De Bello Standardi*," as follows:—"Erat . . . adolescens pulcherrim facie, et decorus aspectu . . . tam dulcis, tam amabilis, tam affabilis, ut ab omnibus diligenteretur. Erat præterea tanta probitatis, ut in illo exercitu nullus fuit similis ei." This prince married, in 1139, Adeline de Warenne, daughter of William (2nd), Earl of Surrey and Warenne, and died, in his father's lifetime, 12th June, 1162, leaving sons, Malcolm and William, who successively became Kings of Scotland.

Secondly, as to Henry Fitz-Empress. He was son of

Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, by Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V, and daughter of Henry I, King of England. He was born in 1133, and seems, as early as 1142, to have put forth his claim as rightful heir of England and Normandy. Matilda came to England to assert her right to the throne in September, 1139, and towards the end of 1142 her son Henry came to England with Robert, Earl of Gloucester (the natural brother of Matilda). According to Gervase (i. 131) Henry now spent four years in England, remaining at Bristol under the care of his uncle Robert, Earl of Gloucester. He left England late in 1146, and returned in April, 1149, and was knighted by David of Scotland at Carlisle at Whitsuntide, 22nd May, 1149 (Gervase, i. 140, note). On this occasion he was supported by, amongst others, the Earls of Hereford and Chester, the latter being present with him at Carlisle. The writer, Henry of Huntingdon, states that at Carlisle he appeared "cum occidentalibus Anglie proceribus," and that King Stephen, fearing an attack by Henry Fitz-Empress, aided by David of Scotland, marched to York, and remained there, on the watch, during all the month of August, 1149. Henry again departed from England in January, 1150 (Gervase, i. 142). In 1153 Henry made his third visit to England, and after some fighting, and when a decisive action was daily expected, the chief leaders on either side arranged an amicable treaty, and Henry retired to Normandy until the death of Stephen, 25th October, 1154.

From the above accounts it will be seen that both Henry Fitz-David and Henry Fitz-Empress had the opportunity of striking coins at Carlisle, and it is now therefore proposed to shortly state the evidence afforded by certain other coins of the period bearing the name Henry.

In *The Coinage of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 31, Mr. Burns refers to a curious sterling in the S. S. A. Collection which forms Fig. 26A in the plates contained in vol. iii. of the same work. This coin appears to have OTC at the end of the obverse legend and WL---M·ON·CAR retrograde on the reverse.

On the same page reference is made to a broken coin found in 1865 in the disused workings of the silver mine of Carlisle exactly corresponding with Fig. 26A.

The style of the bust differs from that on my coin, and although the type of the reverse is the same, the legend differs from that on mine in being retrograde. The coins most nearly resembling my sterling and the two somewhat similar coins above referred to, are those of the cross-crosslet type of reverse (Burns, Figs. 23 and 23A). Having examined the two illustrations in Burns, the six specimens of this type in the British Museum, and one in the cabinet of Mr. J. G. Murdoch, I have come to the conclusion that all were struck by William (the moneyer) of Carlisle.

The third class of coins attributed sometimes to Henry Fitz-David are those of the type Hawkins 259, which resemble those of Stephen (Hawkins 270), except that the obverse bears the name "Henricus" (without any title). I have examined a specimen of this type in the British Museum, and the reading of the reverse is + PICERIE · ON : HER for Hereford, where a moneyer of the same name coined for Stephen.

There are also coins of this type of David I, the Empress Matilda and PERERIL as well as of Stephen. It is specially to be noted that both Erebald and Willigm struck coins of this type, Hawkins 259 and 270, at Carlisle, bearing the name of Stephen.

There remains the cross-crosslet type penny of Stephen,

illustrated and considered by Mr. L. A. Lawrence (*Num. Chron.* 1895, p. 119), and the coin of David (Burns, Pl. III., 27) reading :—

Obl.—DANVIT REX.

Rex.—+ - CARD : + : CAR :

As regards the striking of coins by persons other than the sovereign *de facto* of the realm, some have argued that such a custom may have arisen from great friendship with the sovereign, whilst others have laid equal stress on the fact of such pieces having been minted by opponents of the sovereign. The coins of Matilda, Eustace Fitz-John, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Robert Earl of Gloucester, and PERERIC seem to be in favour of opposition to the sovereign *de facto*.

Mr. Lawrence, in his paper above referred to, seems to assume that Henry Fitz-David remained until his death an adherent of Stephen, but I do not find that historical facts and probabilities warrant this view.

Henry Fitz-David was a near relative of Matilda and her son Henry, as well as a kinsman of Stephen. David, who died at Carlisle 24th May, 1153, espoused the cause of Matilda and her son Henry, and Henry Fitz-David, as heir to the throne of Scotland, could not well have remained on terms of alliance with Stephen. Henry Fitz-David may well have struck money at Carlisle, as chief of a feudal earldom, in conformity with the custom of feudal dukes and counts on the Continent at the same period. A coinage by him may have been in opposition to Stephen, as must have been the coins struck at Carlisle by his father David.

Incidentally it may be noticed that Mr. Lawrence

attributes the Hawkins 259 coins to King Henry I, while Mr. Andrew omits them from his types of that king. Hawkins suggests that they belong to Henry Fitz-Empress, and Burns claims them for Henry Fitz-David. Having regard to the historical facts above alluded to, and to the British Museum Hereford coin, and another of Gloucester, there can, I think, remain little doubt as to Henry Fitz-Empress being the owner of the Hawkins 259 coins.

Although the matter is not free from doubt, the weight of evidence and argument appears to be in favour of assigning to *Henry Fitz-David, Earl of Northumberland and Lord of Carlisle*, the coins of the cross-crosslet type and the Henry coins, resembling the cross-fleury coins of David I, all struck at Carlisle, which form the main subject of this paper.

It is recorded that Henry Fitz-Empress, in order to secure David's support, solemnly swore that if he attained the throne of England, he would permit David and his successors to hold Cumberland and Northumberland as part of the realm of Scotland. This seems an almost conclusive argument against Henry Fitz-Empress having, before attaining the throne, taken the unfriendly course of coining money in one of the chief cities of the debatable land in opposition to his host and supporter.

It may be of interest to add the following particulars as to the finding and record of my coin. It was discovered about twenty years ago at Brough-under-Stainmore, co. Westmorland (the Roman Vetera), where on the site of the Roman station a Norman castle was built, vast remains of which still exist. At the base of the eminence on which the Norman ruins stand runs a small mountain stream, often flooded. During these floods portions of the

shelving bank are often washed away and, when the stream subsides, objects (mostly Roman) are found some distance down stream. The coin in question was purchased, with other articles, from one of several men who were in the habit of searching for the objects thus brought to light by my friend, Mr. T. Carrick, J.P. for Cumberland, in whose collection it remained until it passed into my possession in August of last year.

P. CARLTON-BRITTON.

V.

A FIND OF SILVER COINS OF EDWARD IV—
HENRY VIII.

The hoard of coins, of which a complete list accompanies these remarks, was lent to me for the purposes of abstracting therefrom what small amount of history they might contain.

That the hoard was a find at some time or another the condition of the coins themselves shows. Whether all the coins which were originally found together were kept together I cannot say, but those which came to me seemed quite worth paying a little attention to.

The hoard as described in the list contained the following varieties and numbers :—

EDWARD IV.

Light groats	12
Light half-groats	2

HENRY VI.

Light groats	2
------------------------	---

HENRY VII.

Open crown groat	1
Arched crown groats	23
Arched crown half-groats	15
Profile groat	1
Profile half-groats	5
Sovereign type penny	1

Carried forward	62
---------------------------	----

	Brought forward	62
HENRY VIII.		
First coinage groats	4	
First coinage half-groats	2	
Second coinage groats	212	
Second coinage half-groats	80	
Foreign coins, Charles the Bold	11	
" " Alphonso V of Portugal	1	
	Total	322

Of this total 255 were groats, 54 half-groats, 1 penny, and 12 foreign pieces. I give the following description of them :—

EDWARD IV. LIGHT COINAGE.

Groats.

1. Obv.—M.M. crown. EDWARD DI GRAN REX × ANGLI & FRANC. Arch on breast fleured, quatrefoils at sides of neck.	
Rev.—M.M. crown. POSVI DEVM R DIVITORVM GLOVIA : CIVITAS LONDON. Crosses as stops	3
2. M.M. on rev., sun; quatrefoil on breast; otherwise as No. 1	2
3. Obv.—M.M. cross fleched; trefoils at sides of neck and as fleurs.	
Rev.—M.M. sun; otherwise as No. 1	1
4. M.M. annulet both sides; small trefoils as fleurs, nothing at sides of neck; otherwise as No. 1	2
5. M.M. Cross pierced, both sides; still trefoil fleurs, but rather larger	1
6. M.M. cross pierced; lettering larger; barred A in ANGL and TKS; arch on breast not fleured; arches fleured with the ordinary trefoils	1
7. M.M. heraldic cinquefoil; rose on breast and after POSVI and R DIVITORE, in other respects as No. 6	1

3. *Obv.*—M.M. lis. Same legend as No. 1; G. on breast; small trefoils as fleurs and at sides of neck, and as stops.

Rev.—M.M. sun. Legend as No. 1, except HOBORVII instead of LONDON 1

Half-Groats.

1. M.M., both sides, pall. Bourchier knot on breast; trefoil fleurs. Legend, as on groats where visible, CIVITAS YANTOR; no stops 1
2. Much double struck; G. on breast; crosses as stops 1

HENRY VI. LIGHT COINAGE.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross slightly pattée. HERBIS DI GRAN
RGX YNGL Z FRANCI. Arches fleured with small trefoils; crosses as stops.
- Rev.*—M.M. and legend as Edward IV, No. 6 1
2. M.M., both sides, lis. HERBIS; otherwise as York groat of Edward IV, No. 8 1

HENRY VII.

Open-Croton Groat.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. rose. Legend nearly obliterated. Trefoils as stops.
- Rev.*—No M.M. Usual POSVI, &c., legend; lis after POSVI and ADIVTORI 1

Arched-Crown Groat.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. heraldic cinquefoil. Legend ends PETRI; trefoils as stops.
- Rev.*—M.M. escalloped. Usual legend, with E for H, M for R, rosettes as stops 1

2.	M.M., both sides, escalloped. Usual legends both sides; rosettes both sides as stops; ordinary H's, peculiar M's	1
3.	M.M. regular cinquefoil both sides. Obv. legend ends FR D ^W V for D ^W YD ^R ; ADIVTORI for ADIVTORI; SW ^W V for SW ^W YV; crosses as stops	3
4.	M.M. leopard's head. AGI Z FR; otherwise as last.	1
5.	Obv.—M.M. lis issuing from half rose. No stops. Rev.—M.M. leopard's head. Crosses as stops; abbreviations as before	1
6.	M.M., both sides, lis issuing from half rose. Crosses as stops	1
7.	M.M. anchor both sides. AGI Z F; other words as before; crosses as stops	1
8.	M.M. anchor, sometimes reversed. AGI Z FR ^A ; other characters as before	4
9.	M.M. anchor reversed. AGI Z FR ^A ; otherwise as preceding	1
10.	M.M. greyhound's head. Obv. legend ending AGI Z PR. Coins of anchor type with double-arched crown; one only ornamented	2
11.	Obv.—M.M. greyhound's head. As last. Rev.—As cross crosslet coinage. Cross pâtiée and short stumpy letters	1
12.	Obv.—M.M. greyhound's head. Same legend, but cross crosslet style of work Rev.—Same work. ADIVTORI	1
13.	M.M. cross crosslet. AGI Z FR, ADIVTORI. Crosses as stops. The treatment of the crown like that on the earlier greyhound coins	1

14. M.M. cross crosslet of the typical form. $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda$ Z F. Crosses as stops	1
15. M.M. cross crosslet of same form. $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\pi$ Z FR; otherwise as last	1
16. M.M. cross crosslet. $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda$ Z FR π ; as before	1
17. M.M. cross crosslet. $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\pi$ Z FR; as before	1

Archd-Crown Half-Groats.

1. M.M. tun both sides. Obv. legend ending Z; rosettes as stops	1
2. M.M. tun both sides. Legends ending from Z to Z FR; no stops	12
3. M.M. tun both sides. Legend ending Z; cross as stop.	1
All those read CIVITAS CIVITOR and have the usual legends where not described specially.	
4. M.M. martlet. A key at each side of the neck. Obv. legend ends FR; crosses as stops. CIVITAS CIVITORII	1

Profile Coinage. Groat.

1. Obv.—M.M. cross crosslet. $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\pi$ VII DI GR π R π X $\pi\alpha\lambda$ Z F. Crosses as stops.	
Rev.—M.M. cross crosslet. POSVI D π V $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\pi$ R π V. Crosses as stops	1

Half-Groats. London.

1. Obv.—M.M. rose. $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\pi$ VII DI GR π R π X $\pi\alpha\lambda$. Crosses as stops	
Rev.—M.M. rose. POSVI (D π V) $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\pi$ R π V. Crosses as stops	1
2. Obv.—M.M., both sides, martlet. As preceding but ending Z	
Rev.—As before, but $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\pi$	1

York.

1. M.M. martlet. Obr. legend ending $\pi\acute{E}L Z$; rev. $\pi\acute{E}DIVTOH$. Keys under shield; crosses as stops	1
2. As before, but $\pi\acute{E}L Z$ and $\pi\acute{E}DIVTOH$	1
3. As 2, but $\pi\acute{E}DIVTOH$	1

Prancy. Durham. Sovereign Type.

1. Obr.—No M.M. $\pi\acute{E}RRICII DI GRAN BREX$. No stops visible.	
Rev.—No M.M. CIVITAS DIBRINAR . D. R. at sides of shield, crown and mitre over it.	1

*HENRY VIII.**First Coinage with his Father's Bust. Groat.*

1. Obr.—M.M. portcullis crowned. $\pi\acute{E}RRICII VIII DI$ $GRAN BREX \pi\acute{E}L Z FR$. Crosses as stops.	
Rev.—M.M. portcullis crowned. POSVI DHV $\pi\acute{E}DIVTOH MRCV$. Crosses as stops	1

Half-Groat. York.

1. Obr.—M.M. cross voided? $\pi\acute{E}RRICII DI GRAN BREX$ $\pi\acute{E}L$. Crosses as stops.	
Rev.—M.M. cross voided. CIVITAS EBORACI . Keys at sides of shield, cardinal's hat below	1

Half-Groat. Canterbury.

1. Obr.—M.M. pomegranate. $\pi\acute{E}RRICII VIII DI GRAN$ $BREX \pi\acute{E}L Z$. Crosses as stops both sides.	
Rev.—M.M. pomegranate. $\text{CIVITAS CANTABRIOR}$. $W \pi$ at sides of shield	1

Second Coinage, his own Portrait. London; crosses as stops. M.M. on both sides.

1. Obv.—HENRIC D G R AEL Z FRANC.

Rev.—POSVI DGV A DIVTOBR MRY.	Crosses in forks of cross	1
2. As No. 1, but FRANC	57	
3. As No. 1, but FRANCIS	33	
4. As No. 1, but FRANC and A DIVTOBR	2	
5. As No. 1, but FRANCIS and A DIVTOBR	2	
6. As No. 1, but M.M. rose on rev., FRANCIS, A DIVTOBR	3	
7. As No. 1, but M.M. rose on rev., FRANC, A DIVTOBR	3	
8. As No. 1, but M.M. rose on rev., FRANC	1	
9. As No. 1, but M.M. rose on obv., FRANC	1	
10. As No. 1, but M.M. pheon on rev., FRANCIS	1	
11. As No. 1, but M.M. pheon on obv., FRANC	1	

M.M. arrow both sides, crosses as stops and in forks of cross.

1. Obv.—HENRICI D. G. R. AEL Z FRANC.

Rev.—POSVI DGV A DIVTOBR MRY	11
2. As No. 1, but AELIS	13
3. As No. 1, but AELIA and FRANCIS	11

M.M. pheon both sides, crosses as before.

1. Obv.—HENRIC VIII D. G. R. AEL Z FRANC.

Rev.—POSVI DGV A DIVTOBR MRY	1
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M.M. rose both sides, crosses as stops and in forks of cross.

1. Obv.—HENRIC VIII D. G. R. AEL Z FRANC.

Rev.—POSVI DGV A DIVTOBR MRY	1
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2.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII DL. 6R. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	1
3.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII DL. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	6
4.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII D. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	1
5.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII DL. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV ; cross ends in florets	4
6.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII D. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	16
7.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII D. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	10
8.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII DL. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	9
9.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII DL. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	3
10.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII D. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	5
11.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII D. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	8
12.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII DL. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	1
13.	<i>Obr.</i> — HENRIG VIII DL. 6. B. AGEL Z FRAN.	
	<i>Rev.</i> — POSVI DEV ADIVTORA MREV	1

M.M. sun and cloud both sides, crosses as stipes and in forks of cross.

1. *Obv.* — **H**ENR^II^{II} VIII D. G. R. **A**GL Z **F**R^I**R**.

Rev. — POSVI D^HV KDIVITORE M^HV

1

Tyke Granta struck by Wolsey. T. W. at sides of shield, cardinal's hat below, and crosses in forks of cross.

1. *Obv.* — M.M. cross voided. **H**ENR^II^{II} * VIII * D * G * R * **A**GL * Z **F**R^I**R** *

Rev. — M.M. cross voided. **G**IVI **T**AS * * HBO **R**AGI

1

2. *Obv.* — M.M. cross voided. **H**ENR^II^{II} * VIII * D * G * R * **A**GL * Z * **F**R^I**R**.

Rev. — M.M. cross voided. **G**IVI **T**AS * * HBO **R**AGI

1

3. *Obv.* — M.M. cross voided. **H**ENR^II^{II} * VIII * D * G * R * **A**GL * Z * **F**R^I**R**.

Rev. — M.M. cross voided. **G**IVI **T**AS * * HBO **R**AGI

1

4. *Obv.* — M.M. cross voided. **H**ENR^II^{II} * VIII * D * G * R * **A**GL * Z * **F**R^I**R**.

Rev. — M.M. cross voided. **G**IVI **T**AS * * HBO **R**AGI

1

5. *Obv.* — M.M. cross voided. **H**ENR^II^{II} * VIII * D * G * **A**GL * Z * **F**R^I**R** *.

Rev. — M.M. cross voided. **G**IVI **T**AS * * HBO **R**AGI

1

6. *Obv.* — M.M. acorn. **H**ENR^II^{II} * VIII * D * G * R * **A**GL * Z * **F**R^I**R**.

Rev. — M.M. acorn. **G**IVI **T**AS * * HBO **R**AGI

1

7. *Obv.* — M.M. acorn. **H**ENR^II^{II} * VIII * D * G * R * **A**GL * Z * **F**R^I**R**.

Rev. — M.M. acorn. **G**IVI **T**AS * * HBO **R**AGI

1

The obverses of the last two coins are from the same die.

*Second Coinage, his own portrait. Half Groat.
London.*

1. <i>Obv.</i> —M.M. lis. HENRIC VIII D. G. R. REX Z FR.		
<i>Rev.</i> —M.M. lis. POSVI DGV REXIVTOH REX.		
Crosses as stops		1
2. <i>Obv.</i> —M.M. rose. HENRIC VIII D. G. R. REX Z FR.		
<i>Rev.</i> —No M.M. POSVI DGV REXIVTOH REX.		
Crosses as stops and in forks of cross		1

Canterbury. All with W.R. at sides of shield and crosses as stops. M.M. so-called swallow both sides.

1. <i>Obv.</i> —HENRIC VIII D. G. R. REX Z FR.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CIVITAS CANTOR		1
2. As No. 1, but D for DI		2

M.M. cross fleury both sides.

1. <i>Obv.</i> —HENRIC VIII D. G. R. REX Z FR.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CIVITAS CANTOR		3
2. <i>Obv.</i> —HENRIC VIII D. G. R. REX Z F.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CIVITAS CANTOR		1
3. <i>Obv.</i> —M.M. cross fleury. HENRIC VIII D. G. R. REX Z FR. *		
<i>Rev.</i> —M.M. T. CIVITAS CANTOR		4
4. M.M. T both sides, otherwise as last		1
All with T G. at sides of shield and crosses as stops.		

M.M. Catherine wheel both sides.

1. <i>Obv.</i> —HENRIC VIII D. G. R. REX Z F.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CIVITAS CANTOR		1
2. Same, but FR		2

M.M. on obverse only.

3. As No. 1	3
4. As No. 2	3

York, with TW at sides of shield, cardinal's hat below sun; crosses as stops. M.M. cross voided both sides.

1. Obv.—HENRIC VIII D. G. R. ET AL Z F.	
Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI	2
2. As No. 1, but FR	2
3. As No. 1, but FRK	1

*With E L at sides of shield, crosses as stops.
M.M. key on both sides.*

1. Obv.—HENRIC VIII D. G. R. ET AL Z FR.	
Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI	3

2. As No. 1, but initials L E instead of E L 1

CHARLES THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND COUNT OF FLANDERS.—A.D. 1467-1477.

Gros.

1. Obv.—+KAROLVS & DHI & GRK & DVX & BVRG & TO & FLK. Shield—1 and 4, arms, modern, of Burgundy; 2 and 3, arms, ancient, of Burgundy and Limburg; in escutcheon, shield of Brabant.	
Rev.—+SIT & ROSEN & DOMINI & BENEDICTIVM & TVR. M.M. Briquet. Cross fleury; centre voided, containing lis	7
These coins were struck for Flanders.	
2. Obv.—+KAROLVS & DHI & GRK & DVX & BG & BRAB & Z & LIM. Shield as before.	
Rev.—SIT & ROSEN & DOMINI & BENEDICTIVM & TVR. M.M. Cross fleury; centre voided, containing lion of Brabant	4
These were struck for Brabant.	

ALPHONSO V OF PORTUGAL.—A.D. 1438-1481.

Mais Grossos.

1. Obv.—**+ALFONSVS : QVINTI : BEGIS : PV.** The letter **A** crowned between two annulets; between limbs L (Lisbon).
- Rev.—**+DIVTOBIVS : NOSTRVS : N.** Five shields arranged in form of cross 1

The earliest coins in the hoard are the groats of Edward IV. The mint-marks on the London pieces are sun, crown, cross fitchée, annulet, cross pierced, and heraldic cinquefoil; lis and sun on the York groat, and pall on the Canterbury half-groat. The only two mint-marks absent are the rose and the trefoil. The absence of the former is easily accounted for by the fact of its being the earliest mark on the series of light groats. The trefoil, though in use during the period represented by the hoard, is now of such extreme rarity that its absence is not to be wondered at. The mint-marks present in the hoard show nothing new to chronicle, and they all bear out former conclusions as regards classification. The sun and crown mint-marks were issued shortly after 1465. The two examples of the light groats of Henry VI do not call for any special attention beyond remarking their extreme resemblance to Edward IV's coinage among which they were found, a resemblance which is carried out even down to the small trefoil-shaped stops between the words.

After Edward IV's coinage a gap appears, due to the absence of any coins of Edward V and Richard III. Whether rarity or previous removal would account for these absentees must be left to individual judgment, though probably, looking to the coins left in the hoard, there

were none of the pieces of the last two Plantagenets in it when the collection disappeared.

With the advent of Henry Tudor a poor specimen of his first issue appropriately heads the list of his coinage. There are some new features about this coin, in the fact that the mint-mark is on one side only, and that a fleur-de-lis figured after POSVI and R DIV TORG.

The series of arched-crown groats is quite complete as regards the mint-marks and stops. It will be remembered that the classification of these coins was greatly assisted by the combination of the two sets of marks. The first coin mentioned in the list of these arched-crown groats is interesting, as bearing on the obverse the heraldic cinquefoil mark with trefoil stops, while the corresponding mark on the reverse is the escutcheon attended with rosettes as punctuations. The other mint-marks present are, regular cinquefoil, leopard's head, lis issuing from half rose, anchor, greyhound's head, and cross-crosslet. A glance at the list will reveal the presence of all the varieties of the groat with the greyhound's head, both of coarse work and fine work.

The profile coinage of Henry VII is represented by one groat only, but this one is interesting as bearing the same head as the shilling and the *Septim* groat. The mint-mark is the same as the last of the full-faced coins, viz., a cross-crosslet. It is curious that the only representatives of the earliest and latest coinage of Henry VII should be very scarce varieties presenting in some ways new characteristics. The smaller coins of this issue were represented by five profile half-groats, two of London and three of York. No two are quite alike.

The only penny was one of Durham, struck about the

middle of Henry VII's reign. The D.R. at the sides of the shield give a date of a sort to the coin, as it was struck by Richard Fox, Bishop from 1494 till 1502.

The great majority of the hoard consisted of coins of Henry VIII. Those bearing the portrait of Henry VII were probably struck from dies or puncheons made during the last years of the late king, and simply had the extra I added to the VII, and the mint-marks, portcullis and castle, placed in the position of older marks previously present. The groats in the hoard were four only, all marked with a crowned portcullis. There were two half-groats. One was of Canterbury, mint-mark pomegranate, with WR at the sides of the shield for Archbishop Warham. The other was struck at York, with a cardinal's hat and two keys below the shield, but with no initial; mint-mark, cross voided. The appropriation is doubtful, as either Bainbridge or Wolsey might have struck it, both being cardinals. The cross-voided mint-mark would probably be indicative of Wolsey, who used it on his other York coins.

The rest of the English part of the hoard numbered 212 groats and 30 half-groats, all of Henry VIII's second coinage, with his own portrait. The difficulty of coming to any conclusion as regards classification and date of issue of these pieces renders this series probably the most interesting and useful portion of the collection. All the mint-marks are present on the groats both of London and York. Those of the latter city may be taken first, as there were only seven. A glance at the list, where they are put out in full, will show some interesting particulars. Both mint-marks are chronicled. Five groats bear the cross voided. Four of them read FRANC, and one reads FRANCIS. With this exception, the legends are

the same, the work is the same, and the only difference is in the position and number of the small crosses used as stops; these vary in all five. The groats with the rare mint-mark acorn are two in number, and only vary in respect of stops.

The London groats have been subdivided firstly by their mint-marks. 95 bear the lis both sides, 8 the lis on one side and rose on the other, 2 the lis on one side and pheon on the other, 1 the pheon both sides, 35 the arrow both sides, 1 the sun and cloud both sides, and finally 63 bear the rose both sides. When each mint-mark is taken separately, some curious variations in the legends will be observed. The English title is almost entirely represented by πGL , but on the arrow-marked groats πGLIG is found. The French title is $\text{FR}\pi\text{A}$, $\text{FR}\pi\text{U}$, $\text{FR}\pi\text{AU}$, $\text{FR}\pi\text{AII}$ on those bearing the rose mint-mark. The first variety is absent on lis-marked coins, and the two latter only are shown on those bearing the arrow and pheon. Curiously enough the first only is apparent on the single groat mint-mark sun and cloud. The list further notes in some places a variation of the word $\pi\text{DIVTORI}$, by the omission of the R. Groats with the mint-marks rose and lis, either on the same coin or separately, show both variations. Besides these, the legends show further alteration, though only on coins bearing the rose mint-mark. DL $\text{GR}\pi$. will be noted on No. 2, and DL 6. on several. No. 5 is peculiar, in having some Roman letters in conjunction with the Lombardic ones of the reverse legend, and in having some difference of the treatment of the cross ends, which are filled in with a floriated design. This coin is of the greatest rarity. Besides all these differences, the die engravers have added an enormous variation in the position and number

of the small crosses used as stops. If these had been taken account of, and if the London coins had been treated as the York pieces were, probably the list would have contained no two coins precisely alike. The conclusions which could have been drawn from such an exhaustive list were not considered worthy of the expenditure of time and trouble necessary for its production.

The 30 half-groats of London, Canterbury, and York present the same similarities to each other as has been noticed in the groats, and likewise the same sort of divergences. A glance at the list will at once show these differences. Before considering this second coinage as a whole in its relation to Henry's reign in general, it may be as well to attempt some classification of the various mint-marks. It has been usual in the English coinage to find some character which will, while settling the earliest member of a new issue, show some relationship with the latest member of the coinage which preceded it. This character has generally been the mint-mark, and coins bearing two marks have been most useful in this respect. This hoard shows coins which bear on one side the lis, and on the other the rose or pheon, so that the lis must be considered as having been used between the rose and pheon marks. Now, as there does not appear to be the slightest difference in style or workmanship in any of the coins bearing the lis mark, it may be concluded that all the lis coins come together, and therefore the order of the mint-marks must be rose, lis, pheon in point of time, or pheon, lis, rose. There is much to be said in favour of both these views. A consideration, however, of some coins of the series not represented in the list will probably help the correct decision of the order of these marks. The coins with rose

mint-mark show considerably more variation in the legend than those with other marks. This is more particularly noticeable in reference to the two words DI GR Δ . The list itself shows three forms, DI GR Δ , DI G, and D. G. All groats of the second coinage with the other mint-marks appear to read D. G., and this abbreviation is the one used on the full-faced coins.

The half-groats correspond with the groats as far as it is possible to determine. Some of the Canterbury coins bearing the initials W Δ for Archbishop Wareham, 1504-1532, also read DI. This reading also is strictly in accord with the coins struck when Henry came to the throne, and probably when the second coinage was determined, or there was some little variation tried before the stereotyped D. G. came into use. This legend continued to hold its own right down to the time of Charles II, when it was again lengthened out in his early milled coinage of 1662. Besides the legend, another point must be touched upon in connection with these rose-marked coins, viz., the lettering. In the vast majority of cases this conforms to the ordinary Lombardic type, and the whole alphabet used belongs to this type, but on a few rare coins some Roman letters are introduced. This is the case with almost all the letters forming the legend, but in nearly every such coin the alphabet has been mixed. Thus a few Roman letters are inserted among those of Lombardic type on either obverse or reverse. The consideration of the full-faced coins of Henry VIII would lead to the supposition that any coins of the profile type bearing Roman letters were of late date in that issue, and probably led up to the Roman alphabet of the full-faced types, and that therefore these unusual coins with the rose mint-mark were the immediate predecessors of the full-faced coinage.

That this view, however plausible, is probably not correct, will be shown by a consideration of coins bearing the pheon mint-mark. These Roman letters must be looked upon as indicating an instability of purpose, and must be taken, with the unstable legends on these coins, to indicate earliness of issue. The mixture of alphabets does not occur here for the first time in the history of our English coins. Roman N's and M's were mixed in the legends of Edward III's coins, and the tremendous import of the Roman N in London on the coins of Henry IV is never forgotten by some treasure seekers. The curious S's and M's on the early arched-crown groats of Henry VII must also be remembered here. In all these cases this mixed alphabet comes at a change of type, and therefore at the beginning of a new type, when designs were more or less unsettled. The probability of the rose being the first mark on this second coinage on account of the legends and alphabets exhibited on the coins, is further strengthened by what is to be found on three or four pheon-marked pieces. These occur with a legend which it is quite impossible to place anywhere else than at the end of the second issue. The legend is HENRIDI 8 D G REX. FRA Z HIB REX—note the Arabic 8. Until quite lately this legend was not known on any coins earlier than those of the third issue in the King's thirty-fourth year, and indeed this Irish title has given the date to the first full-faced coinage, 1543, as no indenture for or proclamation of these coins is known. The supposition has always been that the coins were issued immediately after Henry became King rather than Lord of Ireland. The pheon-marked profile coins must therefore end the series of the second issue, and it is thus impossible to place the rose-marked coins anywhere else.

than on the other side of the lis mint-mark, or at the beginning of the second issue. This arrangement of marks leaves no place for the sun and cloud. Unfortunately the few coins bearing the mark show nothing to connect it with any other mark in the series. It cannot be the last, and if it is the first, there are not examples enough known to trace its priority of issue. The arrow mint-mark is probably only a variety of the pheon.

A consideration of the gold coins of this second issue confirms the sequence of mint-marks on the silver ones. Angels and their parts do not appear to have been issued up to 1543, together with crowns and their smaller fractions. The angels appear to have the pheon mint-mark and that of the sun and cloud.

One other question requires some consideration, and that is, the date of issue of these second coinage profile pieces. The indenture has been dated 1526, and gives directions for the making of George nobles and half George nobles, and also for the issue of crowns and half-crowns in gold. The silver coins were only to be reduced in weight. Unfortunately the weight of these groats is of little or no use in coming to a conclusion, and whatever it is, it is not the weight given in the indenture, but lighter. As against this the first coinage groats are also much lighter than they should be, and for that matter so are the later coins of Henry VII. None of them, as a rule, reach indenture weights, not even when they are in fine condition. The relative weights of the first as regards the second coinage are again not in accord with what the indenture would lead us to expect. Although the later coins may be slightly lighter than those which come before them, there is no such difference as between 48 grains and 43, or, to be accurate, $42\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Another feature in these second issue coins is the bust. It is always called Henry's own bust, and doubtless it is, but it represents a man who, though not in extreme youth, is still not an old man. Now Henry was born in 1491, and thus he would be thirty-five in 1526. The change from this portrait to that represented on the earliest full-faced coin is again very marked, and would lead to the supposition that the earlier bust had been used for a very long time before it changed for a full-faced portrait. At present the duration of the second issue is limited to seventeen years, which would hardly seem long enough to account for the great difference in portraiture exhibited. It may be here remarked that the relationship between the numbers of first and second issue coins which have come down to us would also warrant us in the belief that the coins with Henry's own bust replaced those of his father at no very long time after he came to the throne. Yet at present we have to believe that the first issue was an equally long one with the second, 1509 to 1526. The first issue coins, in comparison with those which followed, are of extreme rarity.

The same sort of story is told by the provincial mints at this time. The coins of Christopher Bainbrigge, Archbishop of York from 1508 to 1515, are very rare; they are all of the first issue. Of Wolsey, who followed him, and who died in 1531, hardly any are known of the first issue, and no groats at all. Those of the second issue, groats and half-groats, are among our commonest coins at this time; yet a bare five years is given for this large issue. Lee, who had ten years at York after Wolsey's death, is represented relatively by very few half-groats.

At Canterbury Archbishop Wareham reigned from 1504

to 1532, but the proportion of his early coins to the later ones is extremely small.

If the only other mint, that of Durham, be consulted, it will be found that there are no T. W. marked pence of the first issue, and that all those with T. W. must be referred to the issue which bears the "Rosa" legend, i.e., the second coinage. A few coins with D. W. may perhaps be referred to Wolsey, more especially as there is a cardinal's hat below the shield.

All these facts point to one of two alternatives. Either the date of the indenture is wrong, or what comes to the same thing, the second coinage, anyhow of silver, was started long before 1526, which seems borne out by the coins themselves, or there must have been an enormous coinage of silver between 1526 and 1543, and again between this year and that of the King's death in 1547.

L. A. LAWRENCE.



MEDALS BY REPATUS OF MANTUA





MEDALS BY "T. R."



VI.

TIMOTHEUS REFATUS OF MANTUA AND THE MEDALLIST "T. R."

(See Plates I., II.)

THE obscure artist who signs himself TIM. REF. MANT. is represented by a very small number of medals. The only pieces hitherto assigned to him with any degree of certainty are the two described by Armand.¹ For completeness' sake, I describe them again.

1. *Obr.*—THEODORVS. QVALLA · AVRELIVS. PIOSENNA.
Half-figures superposed to r. of Qualla and Piosenna, both tonsured and bearded, in monkish dress; on the truncation of Qualla's r. arm, 1562.

Rev.—AVGVST. GREG. PASTORIB. VIGIL. Victory holding two wreaths flying to l. over a wooded landscape, in which is a shepherd with his flock; a mountain in the background; below, TIM. REF. MANT. F.; small branches before and after the signature.

Diameter 30·5 mm. Bronze. In the collection of Mr. T. Whitcomb Greene.² [Pl. I. 1.]

¹ *Les Médailleurs italiens*, i., pp. 236, 237.

² I have to thank the owner for kindly permitting me to publish this medal.

2. *Obv.*—THEODORVS QVALLA MANT AET SVÆ AN L. Half-figure r. of Qualla, dressed as on No. 1; on the truncation of his r. arm, 156Z, and on a scroll below, TIM. R. M. F.

Rev.—AD VBERIORA HINC EVOCATI. A shepherd carrying a staff over his l. shoulder, walking to r., driving his flock before him; in the background trees and buildings.

Diameter 69.5 mm. Lead; gilt on obv. British Museum. [PL I. 2.]

This medal was only known to Armand from the engraving in Mazzuchelli,⁴ in which the artist's signature is entirely omitted, and the date wrongly given as 1561. The last numeral is, it must be admitted, half obliterated, but there can be little doubt of its being a 2, shaped like a Z. In spite of the omission of the signature, Armand rightly identified the medal as the work of the same artist as No. 1.

Who that artist was, or at least his name, a third medal tells us. Once in the collection of King George III and now in the British Museum, it has hitherto escaped observation in the recesses of the "King's Cabinet." Its description is as follows:—

3. *Obv.*—TIMOT · REFATVS · SVI · IPS · EFFIGIATOR · Bust r. of the artist, tonsured and bearded, in monkish dress; on the truncation, 1566.

Rev.—NON · VLTRA · VITIES · Arabian camel lying down to l.; beside it, two corded packages; in the background, trees. Signature, before the beginning of the inscription, T. R.

Diameter 23 mm. Lead. British Museum (Geo. III Collection). [PL I. 3.]

⁴ I., tab. lxvii. 1.

M. G. Milanesi¹ has expressed the opinion that our artist is Timoteo degli Aliprandi, referendarius of the Duke of Mantua, apparently basing his suggestion on the idea that REF is the abbreviation of "referendarius." This explanation now falls to the ground; but a further suggestion of the same authority, that TIM. REF. is identical with the artist who signs himself T. R. on a number of medals,² seems to receive some support from the signature T. R. on the reverse of Refatus' portrait medal of himself. Nevertheless I am bound to admit that Armand is right in hesitating to admit this identification, chiefly on account of a difference of style, but also on chronological grounds. Refatus' style is very distinctive, although it may not be of the best; he seems to have been under German influence, and has certain mannerisms, such as the introduction of trees bent by the wind in an otherwise still landscape. The very different style of T. R. can easily be appreciated by an examination of the following medals, which I have chosen for illustration as being at once very characteristic of his style, and enabling us, in three out of the five pieces, to add some information to that already given by Armand. Although some of the originals are rather poor specimens, they are the best at my disposal, and serve my present purpose.³

1. *Obr.—DIDACVS DE SOLIS EQVES HIEROSOLIM.*
Bust to r. of Diego de Solis, enframed.

¹ Quoted by Armand, tom. iii., p. 113.

² Armand, i., pp. 82, 296; iii., pp. 187, 188.

³ I have to thank Dr. Menadier for kindly sending me casts of all the specimens of T. R.'s medals in the Berlin Cabinet.

Rev.—NIL DESPERANDVM · T · R · Right arm holding a wand, pointing towards the sun; below, a landscape.

Diameter 45 mm. Berlin Museum. [Pl. II. 1.]

Not described by Armand. Diego de Solis was sent as envoy of the Grand Master to Don John of Austria, in 1573, and to the Pope in 1576.⁷

2. *Obr.*—BENEDICTVS CARD. LOMELLINVS T. R. Bust of the Cardinal to r., bare-headed, bearded, wearing camail.

Rev.—MANSVETVDO. Figure of Gentleness standing to left, a veil attached to the back of her head, trampling on a serpent; she extends her r. hand over a dove which she holds in her left. In the left lower margin · T · R (retrograde).

Diameter 31·5 × 28·5 mm. British Museum. Lead. [Pl. II. 2.] Another specimen (bronze, 34 × 28 mm.) in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Armand, i. p. 287, 4).

The same type and legend occur on another medal of Benedetto Lemellini described by Armand, with the artist's signature IN. It is dated on the obverse 1569, and Lemellini's age is described as fifty-two.⁸

3. *Obr.*—CAMILLVS VRSINVS MAX. BELLOR DVX.— · T · R · Bust of Camillo Orsini to r., bare-headed, with long beard, wearing cuirass.

Rev.—None.

Diameter 46 mm. Berlin Museum. [Pl. II. 3.]

⁷ Bart. dal Pozzo, *Hist. della sacra Relig. milit. di S. Giovanni gesuosit.*, Pt. I, Verona, 1703, pp. 68, 121.

⁸ Armand, i. p. 253. A cast, which I owe to the kindness of M. de la Tour, shows that the style of H. N. is far superior to that of T. R., and is indeed worthy to rank beside Pastorino's.

This medal is described by Armand (i. 233, 29) under the artist Galeotti, with the signature PPR, and a reference to Litta.* Litta's engraving gives merely PR, which, in the light of the Berlin specimen, must be amended to TR.

4. *Obe.*—VLYSSES ALDROVAND⁸ PHI · AC · MED · —T·R ·
Bust to right of Ulisse di Teseo Aldrovandi, bare-headed, with short beard, draped.

Rev.—SENSIBVS HAEC IMIS RES EST NON PARVA
REPONIT.—T·R · A cock standing to left on its left leg, head reverted, holding in its beak a finger-ring, in its right leg an olive branch with berries.

Diameter 42 mm. British Museum, Bronze. [Pl. II. 4]
Cp. Armand, iii, p. 138 *B.* (Royal Museum of Parma and City Museum of Bologna.) Another specimen is in the Berlin Museum.

The inscription is an adaptation of the line of Vergil, *Ecl.* iii., 54: "Sensibus haec imis, res est non parva, reponas." The specimens described by Armand must be poor, as he was unable to read the whole of the inscription, and did not notice the ring in the cock's beak. But in Giov. Fantuzzi's *Memorie della Vita di Ulisse Aldrovandi* (Bologna, 1774), there is an illustration (facing page 1) of what must be a fairly good specimen, combining the reverse of our medal with the obverse of the variety given by Armand, iii, p. 138 *C*, with the date 1570 on the truncation of the right arm.

In explanation of the type, Mr. A. S. Murray suggests that it must have some reference to the fable of the cock which found a gem on its dunghill. That this is the

* *Fam. Cel.*, Orsini, 38.

case, and that at the same time the type is emblematic of the enormous industry and reputation for learning of the celebrated naturalist, there can be little doubt, in view of the following passage (relating to the use of the cock as an emblem) from his *Ornithologia*.¹⁰

Aesopius Gallus, qui gemmam inventam spernit, et viliorem eum querit, cum verbis, PAR IGNORANZE, significat hominem, qui insecus virtutis dulcissimos fructus spernit, vitiis sese immersens, et nutrisca. Huins emblematis idem (*vil.* Io. Baptista Pittouna, in Insigni Frid. Sigis. Fuccari) author est. Eadem denique iles cum lauri ramo in rostro, et cum verbo VIGILANDO, hominem denotat, qui in vigiliis: non autem in somno, et otio vitam degat, ut bene operando aeternam adipiscatur gloriam.

The branch on the medal is, it is true, not of laurel, but of olive; nevertheless, as the olive is the tree of Minerva it is equally significant of the *dulcissimi fructus* and the *aeterna gloria* to be won by devotion to learning.

5. *Obe.*—DIANA MANTVANA · T · R · Bust of Diana Ghisi (Sculptor) to r., drapery on back of head.

Rev.—AES INCIDIMVS (*viz.*). Right hand engraving with burin on an oval copper plate a Madonna and Child. In right lower margin, T · R ·

Diameter 40 mm. British Museum (*obv.*) and Berlin Museum (*rev.*). [PL II 5.]

The British Museum specimen is in bronze (C. F. Keary, *Guide to the Exhibition of Italian Medals*, p. 76, No. 288). Other specimens are in the Bibliothèque Nationale (bronze: Armand, i. p. 287, 3) and in the Florence Museum (bronze: I. B. Supino, *il Medagliere Mediceo*, p. 164, No. 511).

¹⁰ Bologna, 1634, tom. II, lib. xiv, p. 271.

It is doubtful whether the composition which Diana is engraving is meant for any particular picture. It bears a general resemblance to more than one of her extant engravings, but where the outline is so faint and the subject so common it would be absurd to attempt any identification.

In the light of these medals it will, I think, be generally agreed that the identification of T. R. with Refatus must, as Armand has seen, be rejected.

The proper elucidation of the types of the medals of Refatus must be left to someone who has the opportunity of searching the records of the Mantuan religious houses. The legend and type of the large medal of Qualla seem to point to a removal of his monastery "to more fertile pastures," the shepherd being Qualla himself,¹¹ just as in Mr. Whitcomb Greene's little medal the "watchful shepherds" are presumably Qualla and Piosna. The legend and the camel on the portrait-medal of Refatus allude to the idea that the camel would not carry more than its just weight, or travel more than its just distance.¹²

G. F. HILL.

¹¹ Cp. Mazzuchelli, i., p. 811.

¹² Solinus, *Polyhist.*, 52: "Sunt alii oneri ferendo accommodati, alii leves ad perniciatem, sed nec illi ultra instum ponders recipient, nec isti amplius quam solita spatia volunt egredi." Pliny, *N. H.* viii, 18, 68: "Sua cuique mensura sicuti vires, nec ultra adsuetum procedit spatium, nec plus instituto onera recipit." These passages are given by Aldrovandi, *Quadrupedum omn. bisulcorum historia* (Bologna, 1621), Tom. I. Eb. i. p. 808, together with a quotation to the same effect from Samuel Purchas.

VII.

SOME NOTES ON THE COINS STRUCK AT OMDURMAN BY THE MAHDI AND THE KHALIFA.

(See Plates III. and IV.)

The defeat and death of the Khalifa Abdullah put an end to a coinage which adds another curious illustration to the numismatic history of Mohammedan Africa. My attention was drawn to the coins by having a bag of sixty or seventy of the copper dollars, issued by the Khalifa during the last seven years of his rule, placed in my hands for examination. The coins were found, when the Sirdar's troops entered Omdurman, in an empty house by the servant of a young relative of mine, Captain Lyle Cummins, of the R.A.M.C., who sent them home. And as the gold and silver coins first issued appear to be already very rare, and even these copper dollars are disappearing—it is said, though I do not know on what authority, that they are now being shipped to England in considerable quantity for the purpose of extracting the silver contained in them—it may be useful to record all that I have been able to learn about them so far. Captain Cummins writes to me:—

"I do not think that they are legal tender in the Sudan now; in fact I am perfectly sure that they are not, as in places like Kaassala and Gedaref one often finds two or three in a day lying about on the ground. That would not be the



COINS STRUCK AT OMDURMAN



COINS STRUCK AT DM DURMAN.

case if they were of any value; besides, I have never seen one in circulation. The silver dollars must be very rare, as I have not been able to get any."

The following notes are taken from papers by Yacoub Artin Pasha, published in Cairo in 1889, and by Dr. H. Nützel, published in Berlin in 1894, and from the notices on the coins contained in the narratives of Father Ohrwalder, Slatin Pasha, and C. Neufeld.

Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, belonged to the race of people known as the Danagla, *i.e.* inhabitants of Dongola, and was born about 1840; his father came into the Sudan when quite a young man, and at Kererri Mohammed Ahmed's early youth was spent in learning the Kur'an. Later on he led the life of a Dervish, moving about from place to place and striving to rouse the Moslems to religious fanaticism, preaching everywhere against the oppression of the Turk and the decadence of the true Moslem faith, and gaining by his ascetic life a reputation for sanctity which brought to him a number of influential adherents. With these he retired to the island of Abba, on the White Nile, where he openly declared himself to be the Mahdi, Khalifa er Rasul, or successor of the Prophet. Rumours reached Khartum that he intended to raise a revolt, and Rauf Pasha, the Governor, sent a force to arrest him. The Mahdi's first overt act of rebellion was the attack on, and the destruction of, this force. This was in July, 1881 (1298 A.H.). Immediately afterwards, leaving his island retreat, he commenced his career of conquest; but though he appears to have dated the beginning of his reign from early in 1881, he did not issue any coins until after the fall of Khartum in January, 1885 (1302 A.H.). He had then accumulated considerable quantities of the precious metals, and the Emir of the Beit-ul-Mal, or Treasury,

Ahmad Wad Suleiman, utilised this treasure for the coinage. At this time, according to Father Ohrwalder, besides gold coins of Egypt and English sovereigns, the principal currency in the Sudan was the Medjidie dollar. The Maria Theresa dollar, French five-franc pieces and Spanish dollars were also current, and Egyptian piastres and half-piastres were occasionally seen, as well as copper coins of all descriptions.

The Mahdi's issues consisted of a gold piece of 100 piastres, a servile copy of the Egyptian pound, bearing the date 1255 and the name of the Sultan, Abd-ul-Majid, and a silver piece of 20 piastres, imitating the Turkish Medjidie dollar, but with the Sultan's name replaced by the words بامر المهدى "By order of the Mahdi," and with the correct date 1302 A.H., but without any indication of the mint. Both of these coins, which were of good standard, had almost disappeared from circulation before the escape of Father Ohrwalder in 1309 A.H., and the quantity struck cannot have been large, as Slatin Pasha states that the Mahdi before his death had stopped their issue.

The Mahdi died in 1302, within six months after the fall of Khartum, after having named as his successor the Khalifa Abdulla, a member of the Taisha section of the Baggara tribe. Abdulla did not strike any coins until 1304. At that date "an immense stock of silver trinkets, captured in the various campaigns, lay stored up in the Treasury, and quantities of these had been sold for much below their value and had been secretly taken by dealers to Egypt. In order to put a stop to this the Khalifa now decided to make his own coinage." (*Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, p. 497.) The Treasurer, Ibrahim Wad Adlan, who was appointed on the fall of Suleiman, in April or

May, 1886 (1303), began the issue of 20, 10, and 5 piastre pieces of a new type, bearing the name of the mint "Omdurman" and the word "Makbul" (accepted). These coins were of lower standard than the Mahdi dollar, but still presented the appearance of silver.

Father Ohrwalder arrived at Omdurman in April, 1886, and at that time, he states, "there was a great scarcity of small coins, and in consequence pieces of damur (a twilled cotton fabric, manufactured in the Sudan) were made currency valued at 10, 5, and 2½ piastres; but these rags soon became so dirty that people refused to accept them. The Khalifa threatened those who refused with confiscation of property and imprisonment"; but after a short time he found that this could not be enforced, and the dirty rags were withdrawn from circulation.

The new coins were not more favourably received. According to Slatin Pasha the Mahdi dollar contained 7 parts of silver and 1 of copper; Adlan's first coinage 6 silver and 2 copper, and his second coinage 5 silver and 3 copper. The merchants refused to accept these latter coins for twenty piastres; as a punishment their goods were confiscated and their shops closed. This had its intended effect, and on their agreeing to accept the new coinage at its nominal value their property was restored to them. The natural result of these measures was an immediate rise of prices; but all the Khalifa knew was that his dollars were accepted, and with that he was satisfied.

Ohrwalder escaped in November, 1891 (1309), and prior to that date Adlan had also fallen, and Nur-el-Gereisawi had been made Treasurer. Under him the debasement of the coinage made rapid strides. Slatin writes that the "Omia Gedida" or "new currency" dollar contained 2

parts silver and 5 parts copper, and that when he escaped a Medjidie dollar was worth eight "Omla Gedida" dollars. Neufeld states that Nur "came to the conclusion evidently that a coin was but a token, and that it was immaterial what it was made of, provided it carried some impression on it. The quantity of silver in his dollars grew less and less and then was only represented by a light plating, which wore off in a few weeks' time. When people grumbled he unblushingly issued copper coins pure and simple," and further that "as the silver dollars disappeared the few remaining went up enormously in value, until in the end they were valued at fifty or sixty of the Beit-el-Mal coins."

The quantity of these base coins issued (both authorised and unauthorised, for the die-cutters made dies for themselves and their friends as well as for the government), must have been very large. When Neufeld was sent to the arsenal at Khartum, shortly before Slatin's escape (1312), he says that "two men were kept continuously engaged casting square steel blocks for the Omdurman mint; these blocks were polished and cut in Omdurman and twenty-five sets were generally in use at the same time. Possibly two hundred men were employed in the melting of the copper and casting it into moulds the size and thickness of the dollars. The discs were next passed on to the people who gave them the impression; this was obtained by placing the disc on the lower block and then hammering the upper block upon it." This account of the process appears to explain a question raised in Artin Paasha's paper as to whether the Mahdi's coins were struck or cast. The coins I examined, of which about fifty bear the date 1312, mostly show signs of casting on their surfaces and confirm the statement as to the number of

dies employed, as at least twenty-one different dies were used in striking them.

Besides the 20, 10, and 5 piastre pieces, Ohrwalder states that a few 1 piastre pieces were issued, "on one side of which was stamped the Taghra and on the other side the word Omdurman." Of these I have only seen two very worn specimens; on neither of them is the date legible; they are not noticed by Dr. Nützel in his paper on the early coinages of 1302 and 1304, but must have been struck between 1304 and the beginning of 1309, when Father Ohrwalder escaped. None of the works quoted mention any issue of copper coins, but Dr. Codrington has a pretty, well-executed little coin in copper, possibly a pattern for a 10 para piece, which value is indicated on it.

In Slatin Pasha's narrative the following table is given, showing the various descriptions of dollars coined during the ten years preceding his escape, viz., from 1302 to 1311 A.H.

	Weight in Dirhems.	
	Copper.	Silver.
1. The Mahdi dollar	7	1
2. The first dollar made by Ibrahim Adlan	6	2
3. The second dollar	5	3
4. The first dollar of Nur-el-Gereifawi. (This is known as the Makbul dollar)	4	4
5. The second dollar of Nur-el-Gereifawi. (This is known as the Abu Sidr or Makbul)	3	4
6. The dollar of Soleiman Abdullah. (This is known as the Abu Kibs or crossed-sabres dollar)	2½	4½
7. The first dollar of Abd-el-Majid. (Also called the Makbul)	2½	4½
8. The dollar of Weki Alla	2½	4½
9. The dollar of "Omra Gedida" (new money)	2	5

The dirhem, according to Noback's *Münz-Maass- und Gewichtsbuch*, is equal to 3.0884 grammes, therefore

Nos. 1 to 4 should weigh 24·7 grammes, and Nos. 5 to 9 21·62 grammes.

The actual weights, as might be expected from the process of making the coins, as already described, vary greatly; the legal weight of the Medjidie 20 piastres is 24·055 grammes, the fineness .830. According to Slatin's table, the Mahdi dollar should weigh 24·7 grammes and be .875 fine; practically none of the weights recorded by Artin Pasha and Dr. Nützel exceed 24·06 grammes, and one coin weighed only 23·05 grammes. The British Museum coin, a fine specimen, weighs 370 grains = 23·97 grammes. The variation in the case of the other types is quite as great. Very few of those I have examined come up to Slatin's figures; many, even when in fine condition, are considerably lighter.

The Mahdi coin appears to be of good silver, the three specimens of 1304 that I have seen also silver but base, and so are the coins of 1309 and 1310 in the British Museum Collection. Coins of the later types occasionally show traces of the plating that Neufeld describes, but most of the "crossed spears" coins appear to be simply copper without a trace of silver about them.

The figures on these coins, which occupy the place where on Turkish and Egyptian coins the regnal year of the Sultan is indicated, are puzzling. On the Mahdi dollar of 1302 (Pl. III, No. 1) the figure 5 appears. As this coin was struck between the fall of Khartum in January, 1885, and the death of the Mahdi in June of the same year, he appears, Dr. Nützel points out, to have dated the beginning of his reign from the spring of 1881, or before he defeated Rauf Pasha's forces. The coins of the Khalifa do not follow any settled system; on some the figures agree with his own regnal years, most of his dollars dated

1311, 1312, and the smaller coins of 1304 have figures which coincide with the years of the new century of the Hijrah. This Dr. Nützel explains by the belief, prevalent amongst Mohammedans, that one of the principal signs for the recognition of the true Mahdi would be his appearing at the close of a century, and for this reason he suggests that Abdulla adopted the year 1300 A.H. as the date of beginning of the new dynasty; the figures, therefore, on these coins would indicate the dynastic and not the regnal year. Coins of 1304 have 1, and the three types of 1315 have each a different numeral, none of them corresponding with either the regnal or the dynastic year, and their explanation has still to be found. Perhaps for the coins of 1315 it was simply that all the more educated workmen were dead or disabled, like Eliss el Kurdi (one of the best workmen of the Khalifa's earlier years), who, Father Ohrwalder relates, had one hand and one foot cut off in 1889 for issuing counterfeit money.

As already mentioned, the two coins issued in the lifetime of the Mahdi imitated the types of the Egyptian pound and of the Turkish Medjidie dollar, or 20-piastre piece.

Under the Khalifa dollars were coined of five different types.

Type 1.—Introduced in 1304; has outer circles of twelve double crescents, forming a chain-like pattern. The type may be taken from the coinage for Egypt under the Sultan Mahmud II. I have not found any closer prototype.

Type 2.—Introduced in 1310; appears to be an imitation of the new Egyptian coinage of 1303 or 1304. It has crossed branches on both sides, crossed spears on the reverse, and a branch with seven leaves before the

Tughra. Roses take the place of the stars which are on the Egyptian coins.

Type 3.—Introduced in 1312, is a modification of type 2; the crossed spears are on the obverse, the branch with seven leaves is replaced by small flower sprays before and behind the Tughra, and stars take the places of most of the roses.

Type 4.—Introduced in 1311, is the "new money," and reverts for type to the Turkish Medjidie silver. These coins are of better workmanship than any of the other issues of the Khalifa.

Type 5.—Introduced in 1311, is a modification of type 4, the stars and ornaments accompanying the crescents being omitted.

The figures on the accompanying plates fully illustrate all these types excepting the gold pound issued by the Mahdi, of which I have not seen a specimen; it is figured and described in the papers by Yacoub Artin Pasha and Dr. H. Nützel already referred to. The illustrations are:

No. 1. The Mahdi dollar.—Obv. The Tughra with المهدى
بأمر = "by order of the Mahdi." Rev. ١٣٠٢
قُرْبَى الْعَجْزَةِ = "struck in the Hijra (year understood) 1302." This coin is of good silver. [Pl. III. 1.]

No. 2. The first 20 piastres of the Khalifa issued by Ibrahim Adlan. Obv. In Tughra مُتَّبِل = "accepted" (i.e. as legal coin), and Rev. ضرب = "struck at Omdurman, ١٣٠٤" أَمْدُرْمَانٍ ١٣٠٤. [Pl. III. 2]. The British Museum has a 20 piastres of same type, date ١٣٠١; both are of base silver.

No. 3. 20 piastres of type 2, legends as on last; date ١٣١٠ (1810). This coin is in the Brit. Mus.

Collection and is also of base silver. [Pl. III. 3.] Another of same date in the writer's collection appears to be of copper only: both have spears on obv. as well as on rev. and they probably represent the first issues of Nur-el-Gereifawi.

No. 4. 20 piastres of type 2, but without spears on obv.; date 1317 [Pl. III. 4]. This type also occurs with the dates 1311 and 1315; it belongs to the silver-washed series. Mr. Howorth's coin of 1311, apparently in mint state, has a complete silver coating; on the 1312 coin the silver coating has entirely disappeared, and the 1315 is of simple red copper.

No. 5. 20 piastres of type 3, legends as last. Spears on obv. only [Pl. III. 5]. The bulk of the base 20 piastres that I have examined are of this type and are dated 1317; it also occurs with dates 1315 and 1316, and there are many slight varieties; all are very base.

No. 6. 20 piastres of the *جديد العمل* or new money, type 4. Obv., in Tughra the above words take the place of *الطبول*, and Rev. legend *عز نصره سرپ* *في* *امور ملائكة*, the whole being an even closer copy of the Mahidie coin than the Mahdi dollar [Pl. III. 6]. It also occurs with the date 1311 (Brit. Mus. and Dr. Codrington's coll.); and all that I have seen are very base, though with some traces of silver. On these coins there is a small label with incuse inscription in field on obv.

No. 7. 20 piastres of type 5, as last, but the stars and ornaments accompanying the crescents are omitted. Legends as No. 6, date 1312 [Pl. IV. 1.]; also of 1311 in Brit. Mus. coll., very base.

Nos. 8 and 9. 20 piastres of type 5, but with the legends of type 2, *طبول*, &c.; date 1312 [Pl. IV. 2]. The place of this coin may be before type 4. A curious variety in the writer's collection has the label

as on No. 6 and rev., the date ١٢٠٧. This must be an error; the Khalifa did not strike any coins until ١٢٠٨. Dr. Codrington suggests that it should be ١٢٠٩. This would agree with the dynastic year ٩ which appears on it. This piece is of base silver and was sent by Captain Cummins from Khartum. [Pl. IV. 3.]

- No. 10. 20 piastres of 1815, a rude modification of type 3, copper with no sign of silver [Pl. IV. 4]; in D. F. Howorth's coll. On this coin the engraver has omitted the figures denoting the number of piastres—it has been struck over an earlier "crossed-sabres" dollar; it may be one of the false coins already alluded to.
- No. 11. 5 piastres of type 1, date 1811 [Pl. III. 7]. Mr. Howorth's coll. Dr. Nützel describes three varieties of this type all dated 1804. This specimen of 1811 is of base silver.
- No. 12. 5 piastres of type 4, date 1811, the $\text{مئتان} \text{درهم}$ but omits the label found on the 20 piastres. Mr. Howorth's coll. [Pl. IV. 5], where there is also a 2 piastre piece of this type, with date 1812, both base. The only mention of pieces of 2 piastres that I have seen is in Captain Cummins' letter quoted on next page. Their value is denoted in an unusual manner, an ω being placed over the $\text{ش}[ن]$ and this appears on some specimens to be joined to the ω , making it like a ∞ . Though of the same size as the 5 piastres, No. 12, they are thinner and lighter.
- No. 13. 2 piastres of type 5, ١٢١٦; base silver [Pl. IV. 7].
- No. 14. 2 piastres, 1812, type 4, but the word مقبول replaces the $\text{مئتان} \text{درهم}$ in the Tughra; a curious rude coin very base. D. F. H. coll. [Pl. IV. 6.]
- No. 15. 10 paras of 1808 from Dr. Codrington's coll., the only specimen I have seen, of good workmanship. مقبول in the Tughra; below $\text{١٠} \text{پارسا}$ or 10 p(aras). Rev. date and mint. [Pl. IV. 8.] Dr.

Codrington informs me that this pretty coin was sent to him from Suakin by a friend.

Besides these coins Dr. Nützel describes and figures a 10 piastres of type 1 and dated 1304; this coin I have not yet seen. All the coins described have milled edges. On the Mahdi's dollar and Dr. Codrington's copper coin this is fairly well done, on the other coins it is rude and irregular, as if done by hand.

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing notes I have received a letter from Captain Cummins from Khartum, in which he says, "Are these dollar pieces of 20 piastres? I gather so from your letter, which speaks of $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars as '5 piastres.' The Egyptian dollar is of course 20 piastres, but in the Sudan the natives speak of the Egyptian 10 p. as a 'rial,' i.e., dollar, and the Abyssinian rial is valued at 10 p. The Egyptian 10 p. is about the size of the Khalifa rial. I cannot help thinking that the Khalifa's dollar was a 10 p. piece. I have just taken one way to find out, having asked some of the Jehedeyah who are working on the barracks here, who had used the coins themselves. They all agree that the rial was 10 p. They tell me that the small coins I am sending you (illustrations 11 and 12) are half-dollars (5 p.) and that the only other coin was a still smaller one, value 2 piastres." This may mean that on the disappearance of the silver coins the base dollar passed at half its nominal value, and this would account for no pieces with indicated value 10 p. of the later dates having turned up. There can be no doubt as to the value they were originally intended to pass for, almost all having the ⠂, 20 grusch, or piastres, indicated on them..

SAMUEL SMITH, Jun.

MISCELLANEA.

THERE LEAD TICKETS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

(1) GLASGOW ASSEMBLY—

Okr.—"Glasgow Assembly, 1732," on a sunken rim.
The arms of Glasgow in a small sunken circle in
the centre—countermarked "No. 20."

Rev.—Blank,



Lead. Size 1·85 in.

This ticket, dated as early as 1732, no doubt relates to the public dances, known as the "Glasgow Assemblies," held for many years in the winter season in Glasgow.

Until the Assembly Rooms were opened in 1740, the Glasgow Assemblies were held in the Merchants' Hall, Bridgegate, and were usually well attended, the Duchess of Douglas for several years patronising them. The management of the business part of the assemblies was vested in directors and a secretary, who framed an elaborate (and amusing) set of rules. The arrangement of the dancing and the other business of each night was superintended by a lady of fashion. The tickets for the first

assembly of the year were sold at 5s., and for the others at 4s. each.

It is interesting to note that no theatrical representation was allowed in Glasgow until 1750, four years after the opening of the first regular theatre in Scotland, which was situate in Cannongate, Edinburgh.

(See *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Blackwood, 1845, vol. vi. pp. 119 and 210; and Denholme's *History of Glasgow*, 1804, p. 348.)

(2) PANTHEON GARDENS, SPA FIELDS, CLERKENWELL.—

Obv.—Inscription in seven lines: "PANTHEON BY DELIVERING THIS TICKET TO THE WAITER Y^E INTITLED TO THE VALUE OF 8^{S.}"; outside, a circle and an ornamental border of leaves.

Rev.—"3rd" "May" "1772" in three ornamented circles. Below, "FOR THIS DAY ONLY" and two roses and a scallop shell; all in a circle of dots.

Lead. Size 1·25 in.

This ticket relates to the Pantheon Gardens in Spa Fields. There, a building with four acres of grounds, was opened in 1770, and noted for the tea and punch sold there. The gardens flourished until 1776, when they were sold and the building was converted into the Northampton Chapel, and subsequently the Spa Fields Chapel.

In Pink's *History of Clerkenwell*, 1881, p. 143, is set out a letter to the *St. James' Chronicle*, from "Speculator," dated 5th May, 1772, describing his visit with a friend to these gardens on the previous Sunday on his way from the City to Cold Bath Fields. After describing the scene of disorder and riot, the writer states that he and his friend procured seats, and producing their tickets, were served with twelve pennyworth of punch. The company seemed to consist of City apprentices and the lower class of tradesmen. He concludes: "Of all the tea-houses in the environs of London, the most exceptionable that I have had occasion to be in is the Pantheon."

It should be noted that Wheatley, in *London, Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 24, in describing the Pantheon which was opened in Oxford Street on the 12th January, 1772 (and after being an opera house and a bazaar is now occupied by Messrs. W. and A. Gilbey), quotes a letter, dated 4th May, 1774, from

Gibbon, the historian, to Holroyd, describing "Boodle's masquerade last night, costing 2,000 guineas," and concluding, "I left the Pantheon about five this morning." This fete would have been exactly two years after the fete of 1772.

Mr. Walters, of Leamington, informs me that he knows of a specimen of this ticket, dated before the opening of the Pantheon in Oxford Street, showing that it belongs to Clerkenwell.

3. Mr. Cox's Museum—

Obv.—Inscription in three lines: M^E COX'S MUSEUM,
1773.

Rev.—A head in the centre, with lines radiating from it to the edge, possibly taken from a mechanical figure in the museum, representing the sun.

Lead. Size 1 1/4 in.

Mr. James Cox, who worked at 103, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street, found himself, in 1773, in financial difficulties. He applied to Parliament, and obtained an Act (18 Geo. III. c. XLII). This Act states that Mr. Cox had invented several mechanical pieces of uncommon and expensive workmanship, in the construction of which employment had been afforded to near one thousand ingenious and industrious artists and workmen, and that these mechanical pieces had been sold in the East Indies and abroad for near £600,000; but, on account of the distress and scarcity of money in the East Indies and Europe, he could not dispose of the pieces on hand, composing the museum known as Cox's Museum, and he was in debt. It was therefore enacted that, in order that the useful branch of trade brought to no much perfection by the said James Cox might still be carried on with success, he was empowered, at any time before the 1st January, 1780, to sell and dispose of the said Museum in such manner as he thought proper, without being liable to any penalty imposed by statute against any sale by way of lottery, or by lots, tickets, numbers, or figures.

In the schedule to the Act is set out a list of fifty items, comprising the Museum, nearly all fitted with chimes and mechanism, many being ten to twenty feet high. For instance, No. 48 is "a swan, large as life, of silver, fitted with mechanism, beating time with its beak to musical chimes, seated on artificial water, within reflecting mirrors; under the swan are waterworks—terminating at the top with a rising sun upwards of three feet in diameter; the whole eighteen feet high." The

Museum, valued at £197,500, was exhibited in 1773 and 1774 in Spring Gardens, Charing Cross. Only a few persons were admitted at a time, twice in the day, at half-a-guinea each. This ticket is evidently one of the admission tickets.

In the meantime Mr. Cox was making arrangements for the lottery, which was known as the "Museum Lottery." It was drawn at the Guildhall on the 1st May, 1775. A man was afterwards tried for bribing one of the Bluecoat Boys to conceal a forged ticket in his hand at the drawing. The first prize was a pair of diamond earrings, made for the Empress of Russia, valued at £10,000. Mr. James Cox and his son continued to carry on business at 103, Shoe Lane, until 1792.

Some of the pieces appear to have been acquired by Mr. Thomas Weeks, who opened a mechanical museum at 4, Tieburns Street, in 1820; and in a sale of the effects of Mr. Charles Weeks, at Christie's, in May, 1864, several pieces corresponding with those in Mr. Cox's Museum were included, particularly the silver swan; before referred to, but they appear to have been in a dirty and dilapidated condition.

F. WILLSON YEATRE.

Gold Coins of the Mewahids.—I have had an opportunity of examining a parcel of gold coins of the Muwahid Khilifehs of Morocco evidently forming the whole, or the larger part, of a find from North Africa. These coins consist of 294 half-dinars (average weight 35·4 grains) and 2 dinars (both 71 grains), all struck between 524 and 611 A.D.

The hoard mainly consists of half-dinars of two types, the one struck by Abu Yaakub Yämuñ I (558-580 A.D.), and the other by Abu Abi-allâh Mohammed (595-611 A.D.), the latter type not being represented in the British Museum Catalogue.

The chief interest in the find is due to the unusual number of mint names which appear on the coins. This will be seen at once from the following list, viz.:

	MINTS.
'Abd el-Mumin.	Tinis. Fes.
Abu Yaakub Yämuñ I.	Ishbiliyah. Meduct Bejâyîh.

Abū Yaakūb Yūsuf I.

Medinet Tilimsān.
Tūnis.
Sijilmāsah.
Marrākush.
Hadr Marrākush.
Medinet Marrākush.
(Uncertain mint) اسكندر.

Abū Abd-allāh Mohammed.

Bejāyeh.
Medinet Fās.
Marrākush.
Medinet Marrākush.

I think it is important to note that during the period covered by the reigns of the first four Khalifels of this Dynasty, mint names, so far as the gold coinage is concerned, appear only on the smaller issues, the dinars being without any indication of the mint from which they were issued. It is possible the dinars were all struck at one mint, presumably Marrākush, but other mints were allowed to participate in the coinage of the half and quarter dinars.

From the fact that the mints above referred to largely coincide with those appearing on the square silver coinage of the Muwahhids (issued without date and without name of prince), it may, I think, be assumed these silver dirhems were struck at the same time, that is to say in the latter half of the sixth century of the Hegirah. This is rendered the more probable from the fact that later dirhems of the same Dynasty are round instead of square, and bear the name of the prince under whom they were struck, as well as the name of the mint. (Cf. *Nomis. Chron.* Vol. XII, New Series, f. 169.)

A description of the coins is annexed:—

'ABD AL-MĀMIN (524-568), all half-dinars.

	No.
1. No mint or date, same as B.M.C. 5, No. 86	2
2. Same type, but mint تونس (Tūnis) appears in lower part of square of both obverse and reverse	1
3. Same type, but with mint فاس (Fās) on upper side of square on obverse and on lower on reverse	1

Aug. YANKEE YEAR I (558-580), all half-dinars.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
الْعَبْدِيُّ أَمَّامُ الْأُمَّةِ
الْمُكَمِّلُ | اللَّهُ وَاحِدٌ | لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّاهُو | الرَّحْمَنُ
الرَّحِيمُ

القائم يأمر الله
الخليفة أبو محمد
عبد المؤمن بن علي
امير المؤمنين
الامير الاجل | ابو يعقوب | يوسف بن
Margin. " "

4.	No mint or date	.	.	.	.	.	231
5.	أشبيلية (Ishbilityeh)	.	.	.	.	.	9
6.	،، مدربة بجاية (Med. Bejâyeh)	.	.	.	.	.	1
7.	،، مدينة تلمسان (Med. Tilimsân)	.	.	.	.	.	1
8.	،، تونس (Tûnis)	.	.	.	.	.	2
9.	،، سجلماسة (Sijilmaasch)	.	.	.	.	.	1
10.	،، مدينة فاس (Med. Fâs)	.	.	.	.	.	6
11.	،، مراكش (Marrâkush)	.	.	.	.	.	15
12.	،، حضر مراكش (Hadr Marrâkush)	.	.	.	.	.	8
13.	،، مدينة مراكش (Med. Marrâkush)	.	.	.	.	.	4
14.	،، أكمة (uncertain mint)	.	.	.	.	.	3

Abū YŪSUF YA'QŪB I (580-595), both dinars.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 15. No mint or date, same as B.M.C. 5, No. 100 | 2 |
|--|---|

Abū ABD-ALLĀH MOHAMMAD (595-611), all half-dinars.

Like No. 4, but reverse margin reads:

الامير الاجل | ابو عبد الله | محمد بن | امير المؤمنين

16. With ججاية (Bejâyeh)	2
17. " مدینة فاس (Med. Fas)	2
18. " مراكش (Marrâkush)	3
19. " مدیتہ مراكش (Med. Marrâkush)	1

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J. M. C. JONSTON.

VIII.

A NOTE ON SOME COINS GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO MAZAIOS, THE SATRAP OF CILICIA AND SYRIA.

I AM aware of the temerity of differing in opinion from such accomplished numismatists as M. Babelon, Mr. Hill, and M. Six, on the subject of the Satrapal coinage of Persia; but perversity is my habit, and there are one or two points on which I feel disposed to break a lance with them, great men though they be. These points involve the attribution of certain coins which they have assigned to Mazaios, the Satrap of Cilicia.

With the great mass of the coins of this ruler I have nothing to do to-day. Those, I mean, which bear the name of Mazaios and which are inscribed with Aramaic characters. There is another class, however, which do not bear his name and which instead of Aramaic letters are inscribed with Greek ones, and which have been attributed to him by two of the great authorities above named. My remarks are confined to this latter class.

I cannot see myself how it is possible for Mazaios, or his companion Belesys, the Satrap of Syria (to whom Mr. Hill tentatively assigns some of these coins), who both of them ceased to have anything to do with Cilicia or Syria some time before the battle of Issus, to have issued coins

with Greek letters on them. They ruled an Aramaic-speaking people who used an Aramaic alphabet, and, unlike the Western Satraps, had not to provide a coinage for a Greek community, and who naturally issued coins with Greek letters on them. Of Balesys we do not read again after the Phoenician war or the reign of Artaxerxes III, while Maznios was presently transferred from Cilicia and appointed Satrap of Babylon. He was Satrap of Babylon at the time of Alexander's conquest and was confirmed in that position by the great conqueror.

As Satrap of Babylon he issued tetradrachms, some of them of Attic weight, which must therefore have been struck under the Macedonian rule and during the reign of Alexander. These are inscribed with his name and invariably with Aramaic and not with Greek letters.

We have not to do here with a coinage struck to pay Greek mercenaries, as so many Satrapal issues were. The coins are not Greek but Cilician. They bear on them the initials of Cilician towns and the image of the Cilician god, and in weight and fabric are purely Cilician. The use of Greek letters on such coins in a country where the language and the script was entirely Aramaic might be possible on autonomous coins struck by Greek towns in Cilicia, but it seems to me very improbable that a Satrapal issue by a Cilician Satrap for home consumption should have had Greek letters on them. This use, it seems to me, makes it exceedingly probable they were struck after Cilicia became a Greek province by the conquest of Alexander.

On this ground alone, therefore, I would venture very respectfully to contend that the coins numbered 242-255 in Babelon's catalogue of the Dynasts and Satraps of Persia, and the coins 65-78 in Hill's catalogue of the

coins of Cilicia, p. 173, were neither struck by Mazaios nor do they belong to his time.

The coinage of Soli to which Mr. Hill has directed my attention is not really an exception. Soli was not really a Cilician town but a Greek colony, and the great bulk of its inhabitants were Greeks. It is natural that its autonomous coinage should have Greek types. Mr. Hill's learned note on page lxxi of his preface very conclusively shows this.

In my opinion they were struck by the Greek governors of Cilicia appointed by Alexander and his successors, and followed the old type with the god and the name Baal-tars, just as Seleucus followed the same types in his first coinage at Babylon. The Greek letters Τ, Ι, Σ, and Μ on these coins seem to represent clearly, as others have long ago pointed out, the towns and perhaps mints of Tarsus, Issus, Soli and Mallus. The letter Β, which occurs on some of them in conjunction with one or other of these other letters, it has been suggested by Mr. Hill may be the initial letter of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. This seems to me very improbable. I would rather suggest that it is the initial of Balacros, who was appointed Satrap of Cilicia by Alexander.

It will be noted that a large proportion of the tetradrachms in question which have Greek letters on them have on their obverse an entirely new type, so far as the Satrapal coinage of Cilicia is concerned. They not only bear Greek letters, but the head of a Greek goddess quite foreign, it seems to me, to the religion of the Cilicians, namely, Athene. On these coins she is represented with a three-quarter face and wearing a winged helmet. Similar coins Mr. Hill points out to me were struck at an earlier time at Syracuse, and

it is possible that they were copied from Sicilian prototypes. There is, however, another explanation of the type to which I shall presently turn. We must remember that while it seems impossible to understand the introduction of Athene on the Satrapal coins struck for the four great cities of Cilicia in the time of Mazaios, where she must have been a foreign importation, for she was a very typical Greek goddess and not a Cilician or Aramaic one, it was exceedingly natural that after the Macedonian conquest Alexander, who especially fostered the cult of this goddess, should have put her bust on one side of the local coins and that of the native god on the other.

In addition to the head of Athene occurring on many of these coins with Greek letters, we get other symbols which seem to point to Greek rather than Aramaic influence, as the club (Hill, Tarsus, No. 65, Babelon, 242), representing the Heraklean cult of Alexander, and the crested Corinthian helmet (Hill, Tarsus, Nos. 68, 72, 75, and 78, Babelon, 251), which occur on some of them, which are very essentially Greek symbols and not Semitic ones.

Certain other coins with Greek letters I attribute to the same provenance, and they seem to me to have nothing to do with Mazaios, *ex. gr.* Babelon, Nos. 242, 243, and 244. These have the Cilician god on one side, with his name Baaltars, and on the other side two parallel and crenellated walls one over the other, surmounted by a lion devouring a bull. No. 242 has the Greek letter **T** for Tarsus under the throne, with a club in the field, while 244 has the letter **B** in the field.

In Hill's Catalogue of the Coins of Cilicia are two similar coins, Tarsus, 65 and 66, one with **I** for Issus

under the throne, and the other with M for Mallos, and bearing a club in the field. All these coins are directly copied from those bearing the name of Mazaios.

Here I may condense what we know about the history of Cilicia in these times, for which I will recur to DroySEN's admirable work. When Alexander had defeated Darius at the battle of Issus, he in 332, deeming the strategical importance of Cilicia very great, united in one person the positions of Satrap and Strategos, and gave the position to Balacros, the son of Nicanor, one of his bodyguard. He was shortly afterwards killed in a fight with the mountaineers of the Taurus, whereupon the position was given to the Taxiarch Philotas (*Arrian*, iii. 6, *id.*, 29, iv. 25). He continued in this position until the year 321, when he was superseded by Perdiccas, and the appointment was given to Philoxenus, who had apparently formerly been Satrap of Susiana, and who was afterwards confirmed in his position by Antipater. We do not hear of him again by name, but a Satrap of Cilicia, apparently himself, is named in 318 B.C. After this Cilicia fell into the hands of Antigonus and his son Demetrios. In 301 Cassander's brother Pleistarchos obtained Cilicia, probably, says DroySEN, with the title of King, and the rest of the treasures of Cyinda (*op. cit.*, ii., 514, Fr. ed.). He only kept it a year, when he was obliged to abandon it and to take refuge with his brother. Thereupon Demetrios Poliorcetes occupied it and kept it till 294, when Seleucus Nicator took possession of it. It was taken from his son Antiochus by Ptolemy II of Egypt (B.C. 262-258). It apparently again fell into the power of the Seleucidæ about 248 B.C., in whose possession it afterwards remained.

I would suggest as most probable that the coins with

the head of the fronting Athene were struck in Cilicia, those with B by Balacros, and the others by the above-named Philotas and Philoxenas, between the death of Alexander and the year 318 B.C. It was possibly from these coins that Audoleon, King of Peonia, copied the same type. He began to reign in 315 B.C. One coin given by Babelon, Pl. VI., No. 5, is evidently a transition one, for it has the head of Athene on the obverse, and the figure of the Cilician god with the inscription Baaltars in Aramaic characters, and the initial of Mallus under the throne. The barbarous character of this coin points, it seems to me, to its having been struck in times of disturbance.

Let us now turn to some other coins.

In his description of the coins of Mazaios in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1884, pp. 145, 147, the late M. Six discusses the coins of that Satrap struck at Sidon. I cannot quite follow him. In arranging these coins, which are themselves dated, he takes the numbers of the years as representing the regnal years of the Persian king. Artaxerxes Ochus began to reign in the year 359 B.C., and on page 148, M. Six says that there are a large number of coins containing no Satrap's name, and bearing dates from 1 to 10 and 13 of Ochus, i.e. 359-350 and 347, and he says these coins were struck under the predecessor of Mazaios, which seems quite right. On pages 148 and 147, however, he cites several coins which he attributes to the years 10, 11, and 12 of the same king, i.e. Artaxerxes Ochus, which he says have the name Mazaios upon them. This is quite inconsistent with the former statement. There cannot have been two Satraps striking coins in Cilicia at the same time, i.e. in the year 10 and subsequently. Three

out of the five coins he refers to he says are in the British Museum, of which two are staters. I have seen the staters, and have been assisted with the better eyes and experience of Mr. Hill, and it is perfectly plain that nothing of the kind can be read on them. The dates themselves, if there are any, are mere ghosts, which cannot be identified. Of a fourth specimen at Berlin M. Six says himself *date effacée*.

In confirmation of this I may mention that there is a complete hiatus in Six's list of the coins of Mazaios struck at Sidon, between his coins of the years 11 and 12 and those of the years 19 and 20.

I take it, therefore, that the first coin of Sidon which bears the name of Mazaios is really dated in the 19th or 20th year of Artaxerxes Ochus, when the series of coins struck at Sidon by Mazaios really begins, and that the octadrachms of which Mr. Hill reminds me there are specimens in the British Museum struck in the first and eleventh year, were struck not in the first and eleventh year of Ochus, but of his successor, and that we have no authority from the coins for attributing, as M. Six did, the beginning of the satrapy of Mazaios in Phœnicia in the year 349 B.C.; and this again takes away the only prop which M. Six had for dating the Phœnician revolt in 351 instead of 344, as Nöldeke much more probably puts it.

H. H. HOWORTH.

IX.

THE BURNING OF BONDS UNDER HADRIAN.



Sestertii of Hadrian (British Museum).

AMONG Roman *sestertii*, or "large brass" coins, perhaps none has attracted more attention from numismatists than that of Hadrian with the reverse legend RELIQVA VETERA HS. NOVIES MILL. ABOLITA, of which four varieties are described by Cohen (Nos. 1210-1213). On the first of these the device is a lictor to the left burning a heap of papers, and holding what has been described as a fasces and axe, though on some examples it looks more like a spear (see illustration above). That which I exhibit is in poor condition, but possesses some interest from its having been found in 1859 at Boxmoor, Herts. The other varieties show two and in one case three citizens in front of the lictor, holding up their hands in applause. The remission of the balance of the debts of the last

sixteen years due from municipalities and private individuals, amounting in the whole to upwards of seven million pounds sterling, was one of the most striking events of the beginning of the reign of Hadrian. It is recorded by Spartian, Dio, Cassiodorus and others, and the former relates that the "syngrapha" or deeds, which were known by the name of *εληφάτα*,¹ were collected and publicly burnt in the Forum Trajani. Spanheim in his chapter on the remission of taxes and the abolition of debts (*De usu et praestantia Numm.*, vol. ii., p. 552); Eckhel (vol. vi., p. 478); Admiral Smyth (Descriptive



Catalogue, p. 98); Hobler (*Records of Roman History*, vol. i., p. 308), and others have all treated of these coins and there is no need of my doing so. My object in calling attention to them is mainly to account for my offering to the Society a photograph of a large rilievo that is now in the Forum at Rome (not Trajan's Forum), on which a similar scene to that presented with fewer details on the coins is given on a much larger scale. We have here a procession of six or eight citizens each

¹ Doric, *ελαφία*, τά, bonds, notes for debt. Plat., *Agis*, 13. (Liddell and Scott.)

beating a bundle of documents, made up in the form of a folio volume with one or more straps around it, which they are depositing on a kind of altar to be burnt. What seem to be the Emperor and several officials are looking on, but the figures have been too much injured for the identification of the Emperor to be certain. There is a façade of temples in the background. This and a corresponding group have been figured in the *Monumenti Inediti*² and have been discussed by Signor Brizio³ and Professor Henzen.⁴ Their views have been well summed up by Mr. F. N. Nichols in his *Roman Forum*,⁵ who gives wood-



cuts of the two groups, which by his kindness are here reproduced. The first of these has already been described; the second represents the Emperor addressing from the rostra a number of persons, including some women and children, the general effect in many respects corresponding with that of the smaller group on *testertii* of Trajan with the legend ALIM. ITAL. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. The group in the photograph

² Vol. viii., tav. xlvii., xlviij.

³ Atti dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica, vol. xliv., 1872, p. 300.

⁴ *Bullettino dell' Inst.*, 1872, p. 273.

⁵ 1877, p. 64.

is sculptured on the other face of the same block of marble, and if the one scene refer to the work of Trajan, it is in the highest degree probable that the other does likewise, and that the burning of the tax records here celebrated took place under him and not under Hadrian. There seem to be therefore two distinct holocausts of documents of indebtedness, the one commemorated by the marble of Trajan and the other by the coin of Hadrian. The background of the marble groups seems conclusive on this point, as it is in each case the Forum Romanum that is represented and not the Forum Trajani, in which it is expressly stated that the burning of the documents took place under Hadrian. Even the locality of the burning of the registers in the Forum has been identified by Mr. Nichols.

The first to attempt the conciliation of the wealthy classes by cancelling their debts appears to have been Agis IV of Lacedaemon, under whose advice all the state bonds, registers and securities were piled up in the market-place and burnt. It is related by Suetonius⁶ that Augustus adopted a similar course at Rome, and Ausonius⁷ ascribes another burning of bonds and registers to Trajan, which is in all probability that which is commemorated on the relief. But even if the scene represented belong to the days of Trajan and not to those of Hadrian, the connection with the type on the coins of the latter remains evident, and I trust that the Society will find room in its library for the photograph, as being to all intents and purposes a "numismatic illustration."

JOHN EVANS.

⁶ Suetonius, Aug., 82.

⁷ Gratiarum actio ad Gratianum, 21.

X.

CLASSIFICATION CHRONOLOGIQUE DES ÉMISSIONS MONÉTAIRES DE L'ATELIER D'ALEXANDRIE PENDANT LA PÉRIODE CONSTANTINIENNE.

(Voir Planches V, VI.)

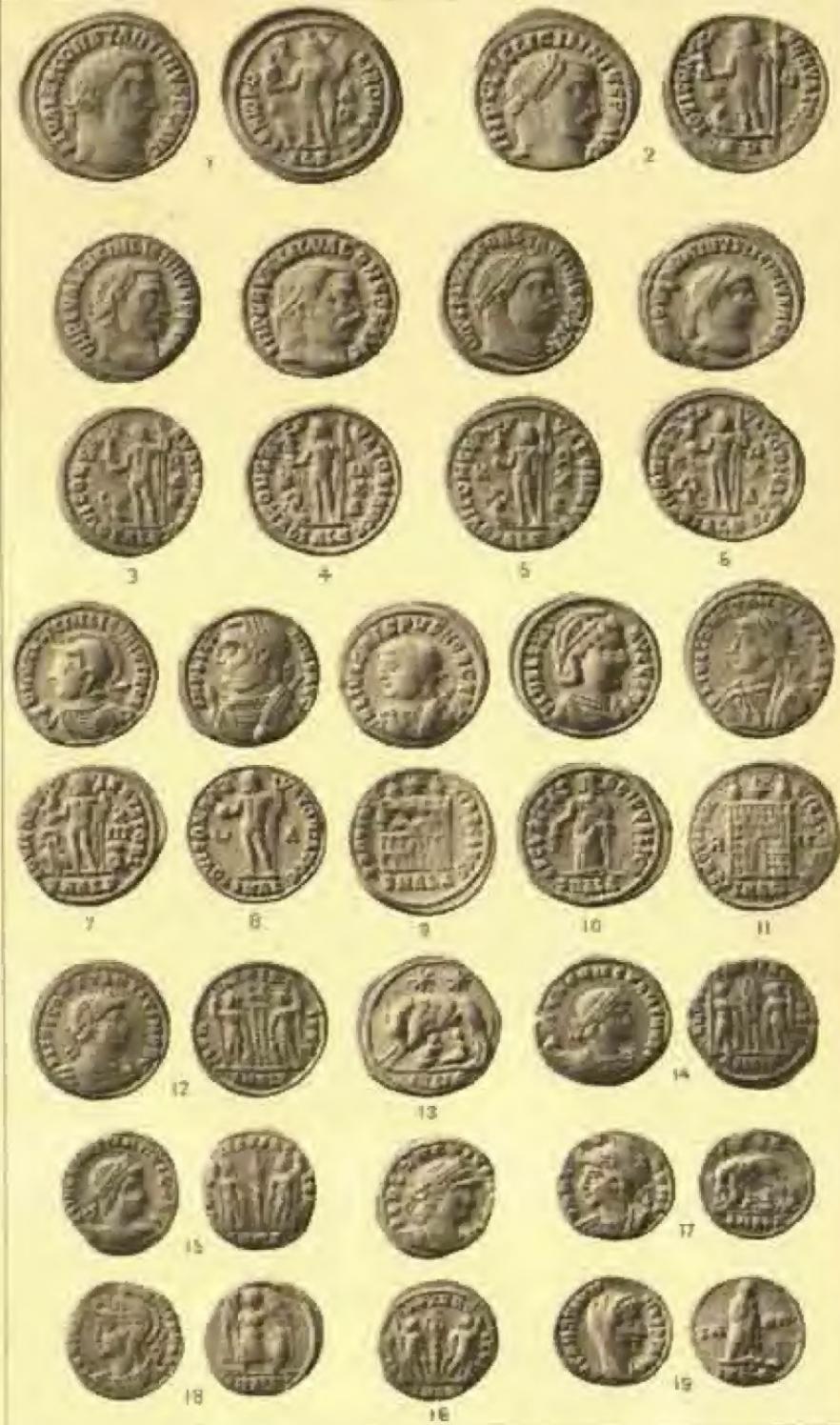
La description des émissions monétaires de l'atelier d'Alexandrie pendant la période Constantinienne doit comprendre non seulement celle des monnaies frappées depuis la mort de Constance Chlore et l'avènement de Constantin César (25 Juillet 306), mais encore celle des pièces parues depuis le 1^{er} Mars 305, date de l'organisation de la seconde tétrarchie impériale suivant le système de Dioclétien. L'atelier d'Alexandrie passa en effet alors dans les états de Maximin Daza élu César,¹ et la première émission qui sortit de cet atelier lorsqu'il se trouva sous la dépendance de ce nouvel empereur dura depuis le 1^{er} Mars 305 jusqu'au 11 Novembre 308.² Galère et Maximin Daza restèrent l'un Auguste et l'autre César pendant toute cette période. Il ne se produisit qu'un

¹ Lenain de Tillamont, *Histoire des empereurs*, tome iv., p. 68; Eusèbe, *Histoire ecclés.*, lib. ix., cap. 6.

² Date le l'élévation de Licinius Auguste, dont les monnaies paraissent dans l'émission suivante.









changement partiel dans le quadruple gouvernement impérial le 25 Juillet 306 ; ce fut l'avènement de Constantin César et l'élévation de Sévère du rang de César à celui d'Auguste. Mais les mêmes monnaies de Galère et de Maximin Daza furent frappées du commencement à la fin de l'émission qui va être décrite.

PREMIÈRE ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis le 1^{er} Mars 305 jusqu'à l'élévation de Licinius Auguste le 11 Novembre 308.

Cette émission comprend d'abord seulement les monnaies des quatre empereurs régnant ensemble à partir du 1^{er} Mars 305, c'est à dire Constance Chlore et Galère Augustes, Sévère II et Maximin Daza Césars ; ainsi que les pièces d'abdication de Dioclétien et de Maximien Hercule, qui après avoir déposé la pourpre à la même date du 1^{er} Mars 305, prirent le titre de Seniores Augusti qui leur est attribué sur ces monnaies.³ Lorsqu'après la mort de Constance Chlore à York en Bretagne, Sévère II lui succéda en qualité d'Auguste et que Constantin remplaça Sévère comme César, les monnaies du nouvel Auguste et du nouveau César parurent à leur tour. Mais cette émission ne comprend aucune pièce de Licinius. C'est donc antérieurement à la reconnaissance de cet empereur

³ Lenain de Tillemont, *loc. cit.* tome iv., p. 62. La désignation de Maximien Hercule comme Senior Augustus, SEN. AVG., oblige à attribuer à Galère les monnaies qui portent la légende du droit, IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG. Ainsi se trouve tranchée une difficulté que Cohen considérait comme insurmontable ; je veux parler de l'attribution des pièces qui leur appartiennent en propre à chacun des deux empereurs Maximien Hercule et Galère. Cf. Cohen, *Monnaies frappées à l'Empire romain*, 2^{me} édition, tome vi., p. 490-1.

comme Auguste par Galère, le 11 Novembre 308, qu'elle fut frappée toute entière. Les monnaies de bronze qui la composent sont de deux espèces monétaires. L'une est représentée par des *folles*⁴ de 25 à 26 millimètres de diamètre, qui pèsent en moyenne 10 grammes, et sont les mêmes que les grands bronzes de Dioclétien. Ces folles présentent fréquemment dans le champ du revers le chiffre grec K.⁵

La plus petite espèce est celle du denier de Dioclétien telle que l'a déterminée M. Babalon.⁶ Les pièces qui la représentent offrent au droit les mêmes effigies d'empereurs à têtes radiées que l'on trouve sur les deniers pendant le règne de Dioclétien. Elles ont des poids oscillant entre 3 grammes 60 c. et 2 grammes 40 c.; en réalité sensiblement inférieurs à ceux des deniers sous Dioclétien; mais c'est une loi générale de la frappe des monnaies à cette époque, que les espèces qui ont été émises quelque temps diminuant de poids jusqu'à ce qu'intervienne une nouvelle réforme monétaire; cette règle étant la conséquence des besoins du trésor. Ainsi les deux espèces monétaires qui existaient sous Dioclétien se

⁴ Ce sont ces pièces qui seront désignées dans les textes législatifs du IV^e siècle sous le nom de *Poenula Majorina*. Cf. Babalon, *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, première partie, tome I^m, 608-610. Je recourrai souvent à l'autorité de M. Babalon, dont le grand ouvrage a apporté une lumière décisive sur les points les plus discutés de la classification des espèces monétaires de cette époque.

⁵ Ce chiffre paraît avoir la même signification que les chiffres K—I et XX—I qui se trouvent constamment sur les grandes pièces de Dioclétien et que l'on a traduit par: 20 sesterces également une unité. Cf. E. Babalon, *Isc. cit.*, p. 610; A. Missong, *Zeit. f. Numismatik*, vii., 1880, p. 260; O. Seeck, même revue, xvii., 1890, p. 117; Kubitschek, *Monatsh. der Num. Gesellsch.*, Wien, 1892, p. 139.

⁶ Babalon, *loc. cit.*, 611, 612.

frappaient encore sous la seconde tétrarchie. Elles cessèrent de paraître toutes deux dans les états de Constantin en 314.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'abdication de Dioclétien et de Maximien Hercule et l'élection de Constance Chlore et de Galère Auguste, de Maximin Daza et de Sévère II Césars, le 1^{er} Mars 305, jusqu'à la mort de Constance Chlore (25 Juillet 306).

On trouve couramment dans le champ du revers des monnaies qui vont être décrites l'une des lettres grecques numérales d'officine A—B—Γ—Δ. On y trouve aussi les lettres suivantes, S F ou S P ; ou le chiffre K et la lettre P. J'ai déjà proposé de voir dans la lettre F l'initiale d'un adjectif dérivé du gentilice Flavius¹ de la dynastie Flavienne. Cette lettre F apparut en effet d'une façon courante sur les monnaies lorsque Constance Chlore devint le chef de la tétrarchie impériale ; elle suivit les conquêtes de Constantin et fut inscrite sur les pièces des ateliers où son autorité fut reconnue ; elle se trouve en outre alterner sur les monnaies de Lyon avec la lettre H qui indique la dynastie Herculéenne ; enfin on la rencontre sur celles des fils de Constantin et de plusieurs princes Flaviens. Cohen relève les lettres F L sur celles de Con-

¹ Constance Chlore avait eu personnellement la prétention de se rattacher à Claude le Gothique et même à la dynastie des premiers Flaviens ; en effet Trebellius Pollio, l'un des auteurs de l'Histoire Auguste qui écrivait à la fin du règne de Dioclétien, célèbre pour flatter Constance Chlore déjà empereur sous origines, cf. *Vita Claudii*, c. 3 : " Ille (Claudius Gothicus) velut futurorum ménor, gentes Flavias quae Vespasiani et Titi, nolo autem dicere Domitiani, fuerunt, propagavit." Constance Chlore descendait d'ailleurs de Claude le Gothique, par sa mère.

massue et tenant une pomme de la main gauche, la peau de lion est suspendue à son bras gauche.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 295, de Hercule, attribuable à Galère; FR. 8219-8221; off. B; 10 gr. 15; 26 m.m., 8 gr. 90.

Cette pièce présente également les dispositions de lettres suivantes—

S | P	P | B
B	S

ALE	ALE
-----	-----

2. IMP. C. CONSTANTIVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue; pièce inédite; BR. MVS.; 25 m.m. [Pl. V., No. 2.]

II. *Au revers.*—PERPETVITAS AVGG. Rome assise à gauche, tenant de la droite un globe surmonté d'une Victoire et de la gauche un sceptre, à côté d'elle un bouclier.

Au droit.—FL. VAL. SEVERVS NOB. CAES. Tête analogue. Cohen, 57; FR. 8757-58; 27 m.m.; 9 gr. 90; BR. MVS.; off. B—Γ.

III. *Au revers.*—CONCORD. IMPERIL. La Concorde debout à gauche, coiffée du modius, s'appuyant sur un sceptre et soutenant son vêtement de la main gauche.

Au droit.—GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Tête analogue. Cohen, 6; FR. 8777-78-79-80; off. A—B—Γ—Δ; 9 gr. 90; 27 m.m.

PETITS BRONZES DE L'ESPÈCE DU DENIER DE DIOCLETIEN.

Avec les lettres dans le champ et les exergues suivants—

A—B—Γ—Δ
ALE

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—CONCORDIA MILITVM. L'empereur debout à droite en habit militaire et tenant un sceptre court, reçoit un globe surmonté d'une

Victoire qui porte une couronne des mains de Jupiter nu debout, le manteau sur l'épaule et tenant un sceptre.

- Au droit.* 1.—IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG.¹¹
Son buste radié et drapé, ou drapé et cuirassé,
à droite. Cohen, 51, de Maximien Hercule,
attribuable à Galbre; FR. 13482-83; BR. MVS.;
coll. Voetter; off. A—B—Γ—Δ.

Ce buste ainsi que les suivants présente la tête radiée
caractéristique des deniers de Dioclétien.

2. IMP. C. CONSTANTIUS P.F. AVG. Buste
analogue. Cohen, 22; FR. 7583, 13800; BR.
MVS.; 3 gr. 45 et 2 gr. 95; 19 à 21 m.m.;
off. A—B.
3. FL. VAL. SEVERVS NOB. CAES. Buste analogue.
Cohen, 8; BR. MVS.; FR. 13983; off. A—B;
3 gr. 50; 21 m.m.
4. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Cohen,
9; FR. 13990-91-92-93; 3 gr. 30; 21 m.m.;
off. A—B—Γ—Δ. [PL V., No. 3.]

Avec la lettre d'officine, la lettre P et le chiffre K¹² et
parfois un croissant dans le champ du revers, soit—

B		K	P	ou	B	K	P
	ALE					ALE	

On trouve—

Au revers.—PROVIDENTIA DEORVM, et comme

¹¹ O. Voetter a déjà donné un tableau de ces monnaies dans "Erste Christliche Zeichen auf Römischen Münzen," dans la *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Wien, 1892, p. 67.

¹² Le chiffre K, comme le chiffre X que l'on verra plus loin, doit indiquer des espèces monétaires, mais j'ignore si ces chiffres indiquent une valeur de la monnaie au moment où elle fut frappée, ou s'ils sont une continuation par tradition de la marque des chiffres inscrits sur les grands bronzes de Dioclétien et sur les deniers. Cette dernière explication semble toutefois la plus probable.

type : Une femme debout à droite, levant la main droite ; en face d'elle la Providence debout tenant un rameau élevé et s'appuyant sur un sceptre.

- Au droit.*
- 1.—D. N. DIOCLETIANO BEAT. SEN. AVG. Son buste lauré à droite avec le manteau impérial, tenant une branche de laurier et le foudre. Cohen, 417 ; BR. MVS. ; 23 m.m. ; off. B.
 2. D. N. MAXIMIANO FELICISS. SEN. AVG. Buste analogue. Cohen, 488 ; coll. Rollin.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis la mort de Constance Chlore le 25 Juillet 306 et l'avènement de Sévère Auguste et de Constantin César.

Je ne décrirai dans ce chapitre que les pièces qui font partie de la première partie de l'émission et non celles de Maximin César et Galère Auguste, qui ont été frappées pendant toute l'émission.

GRANDS BRONZES SIMILAIRES AUX PRÉCÉDENTS.

Avec les lettres et exergue suivants—

S	A	—	B	—	Γ	—	Δ
	P						
<hr/>							
ALE							

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers.*—HERCVLI VICTORI. Avec le type déjà décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit.—IMP. C. SEVERVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 51 ; FR. 8756 ; 10 gr. 80 ; 23 m.m. ; coll. Voetter ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ.

- II. *Au revers.*—FELICITAS AVGG. La Félicité assise à gauche tenant une Victoire sur un globe et un sceptre.

Au droit.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. CAES.

Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite; coll. Voetter; off. A.

III. *Au revers*.—PERPETVITAS AVGG. Avec le revers déjà décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit.—Même légende et même tête. Cohen, 389; FR. 9139; 8 gr. 78; 27 m.m.; off. Δ. [Pl. V., No. 4.]

IV. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONS. CAES. Jupiter nu debout à gauche, avec le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant un globe surmonté d'une Victoire et s'appuyant sur un sceptre.

Au droit.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite; coll. Voetter; off. A.

PETITS BRONZES SEMBLABLES À CEUX DE LA PREMIÈRE PARTIE
DE L'ÉMISSION.

Avec les lettres dans le champ et exergue suivants—

A—B—Γ—Δ
ALE

On trouve—

Au revers.—CONCORDIA MILITVM. Avec le type déjà décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. SEVERVS P.F. AVG. Son buste radié et drapé à droite. Cohen, 9; FR. 13984-85; 3 gr. 20; 20 m.m.; BR. MVS.; coll. Voetter; off. A—B—Γ—Δ.

2. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. CAES. Buste analogue. Cohen, 68; BR. MVS.; coll. Voetter; off. A—B—Γ—Δ.

On doit classer également dans cette partie l'émission de la pièce d'or suivante—

Au revers.—CONCORD. AVG. ET CAES. La Cou-

cordé, voilée et coiffée du modius, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

*Au droit.—SEVERVS AVGVST. Sa tête laurée à droite.
BR. MVS. ; 10 m.m.*

Cette pièce présente au revers $\frac{B1}{ALE}$; la présence d'une lettre d'officine dans le champ du revers est exceptionnelle pour les pièces d'or.

DEUXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'élévation de Licinius au rang d'Auguste à Carnuntum, par Galère, le 11 Novembre 308, jusqu'à la mort de Galère survenue le 5 Mai 311.

En effet cette émission comprend pendant toute sa durée des pièces de Licinius et de Galère Auguste.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'élévation de Licinius Auguste jusqu'à la reconnaissance de Constantin et de Maximin Augustes par Galère en Mai 309.

Cette partie de l'émission comprend les pièces de Maximin Daza César et celles de Constantin désigné comme *Filius Augsti = FIL. AVG.* Cette différence de leurs titres tient à ce que Maximin Daza refusa pour lui cette appellation honorifique de Fils d'Auguste ou des Augustes que Galère lui avait offerte ainsi qu'à Constantin après avoir élevé Licinius au rang d'Auguste. Galère espérait ainsi satisfaire l'ambition de Maximin Daza, mais celui-ci ne cessa ses réclamations que lors qu'il eut pris de lui-même le titre d'Auguste en Mai 309 et se fut ainsi

égalé au nouvel empereur Licinius ; faits que j'ai expliqués dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Antioche.

Les monnaies de bronze ou folles de cette partie de l'émission pèsent au moyenne 6 grammes 50 c. et ont 23 à 24 millimètres de diamètre. L'atelier fonctionne à partir de cette émission avec six officines.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Avec la lettre d'officine et le chiffre K et la lettre P dans le champ du revers, soit—

K	A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ
P	
— ALE —	

On trouve—

1. *Au revers.*—GENIO CAESARIS. Avec le génie coiffé du modius, à domi-nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une patère d'où la liqueur se répand et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 40 ; FR. 8798-8799-8800 ; 7 gr. 40 à 6 gr. 75 ; 23 m.m. ; BR. MVS. ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ.

2. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS FIL. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 185 ; FR. 9087 ; 6 gr. 50 ; 25 m.m. ; coll. Voetter ; off. A seulement. [Pl. V., No. 5.]

- II. *Au revers.*—GENIO IMPERATORIS. Avec le même type du revers.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 48 ; FR. 8506-7-8-9 ; 6 gr. 80 ; 25 m.m. ; BR. MVS. ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ.

2. IMP. C. VAL. LIC. LICINIUS P.F. AVG. Tête

analogues. Cohen, 43; FR. 9027-8-9-30; 6 gr. 25; 25 m.m.; BR. MVS. Mêmes officines. [Pl. V., No. 6.]

III. *Au revers*.—**VIRTVS EXERCITVS.** Mars casqué et en habit militaire marchant à droite, portant un trophée et un bouclier et tenant de la droite une hache dirigée en avant.

Au droit. 1.—**IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG.** Sa tête laurée à droite. Variété de Cohen, 214; FR. 8679 et 8687; BR. MVS.; off. A-B-G-D-E-S.

2. **GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES.** Tête analogue. Cohen, 202; FR. 8908-9; 6 gr. 55; 24 m.m.

3. **FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS FIL. AVG.** Tête analogue. Cohen, 701; coll. Voetter; off. A seulement.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les chiffres X et K et une lettre d'officine dans le champ du revers,¹² soit—

$\begin{array}{c cccccc} & \text{A} & \text{B} & \text{G} & \text{D} & \text{E} & \text{S} \\ \text{X} & \hline \text{K} \end{array}$ <hr/> ALE	et	$\begin{array}{c cccccc} \text{X} & \text{K} & & & & & \\ \hline & \text{A} & \text{B} & \text{G} & \text{D} & \text{E} & \text{S} \\ & \hline \text{ALE} & & & & & & \end{array}$
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¹² Les chiffres X et K doivent être comptés séparément puisqu'ils se trouvent ailleurs isolés sur différentes folles de la même espèce. Le Professeur O. Seeck a vu dans le chiffre X le signe du denier, et en effet dans les ateliers de Constantin ce signe n'apparaît que sur les deniers de Constantin. Mais il n'en est pas de même à Alexandrie dans les états de Maximin Daza, où il se montre dès l'année 308 sur des pièces plus lourdes que le denier Constantinien. Toutefois il faut remarquer qu'à cette époque le denier de Dioclétien et la pièce plus lourde qui portait couramment le signe K—I ont cessé d'être émises et que c'est sur l'unique espèce de monnaies de bronze encore émise et qui remplace les deux précédentes que ces deux chiffres sont inscrits en même temps.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—GENIO CAESARIS. Type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES.
Cohen, 49. Toutes les officines. Parfois la
lettre d'officine est à gauche dans le champ.

II. *Au revers.*—GENIO IMPERATORIS. Type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P.F.
AVG. Cohen, 48; FR. 8510-11; off. A—B—
Γ—Δ. Avec la lettre d'officine dans la partie
gauche du champ également.

III. *Au revers.*—VIRTVS EXERCITVS avec le type déjà
décrit.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS
P.F. AVG. Cohen, 214; off. A—B—Γ—Δ;
pièce déjà décrite.

2. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Cohen,
202; FR. 8809; BR. MVS.; off. A—B—Γ—Δ
—ε.

IV. La pièce suivante réunit deux légendes du revers
et représente une erreur de l'ouvrier qui a gravé le
moule. On trouve—

Au revers.—GENIO IMP. ESARIS. Revers décrit
avec les légendes "Genio Caesaris et Impera-
toris." [Pl. V., No. 7.]

Au droit.—GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES.
Même tête; BR. MVS.; off. B.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE.

Toutes les pièces qui viennent d'être décrites pré-
sentent également au revers les lettres P R avec une
des lettres d'officines représentées dans les tableaux ci-
dessous—

P | A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ R — ALE	R 14 A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ — ALE

On trouve exceptionnellement les lettres d'officines dans le champ à gauche. C'est le cas de la pièce suivante.

Au revers. — **VENERI VICTRICI.** Vénus debout à gauche tenant une pomme de la main droite et soutenant sa robe.

Au droit. — **GAL. VALERIA AVG.** Son buste drapé à droite avec un diadème dans les cheveux. Cohen, 2; FR. 8694; 5 gr. 95; BR. MVS.; 22 m.m.; off. A—B—Γ—Δ. [Pl. V., No. 8.]

Également avec Γ — 

J'ai montré dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Antioche¹⁵ que les monnaies de Galérie Valérie, fille de Dioclétien et femme de Galère, commencèrent à être émises en même temps que celles de Licinius Auguste, élevé à cette dignité à Carnuntum le 11 Novembre 308. L'étude des émissions monétaires de l'atelier d'Alexandrie qui était compris dans les états de Maximin Daza, et celle des émissions de Siscia, atelier de Licinius,¹⁶ démontrent le

¹⁵ Les lettres P—R peuvent être les premières des adjectifs *Publicus* et *Romanus* (*Pecunia Publica Romana*). Toutes ces lettres dans les champs du revers des diverses séries monétaires forment des sigles et combinaisons secrètes de lettres dans le genre de celles que M. Mowat a mis en lumière (*Recueil Numismatique*, 1897).

¹⁶ J. Maurée, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, p. 215.

¹⁷ Id., *L'Atelier monétaire de Siscia*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1900, pp. 306-7.

même fait. Ce fut donc à la conférence de Carnuntum où Licinius reçut le titre d'Auguste que fut décidée la frappe des monnaies de Galérie Valérie. Ce fait s'explique d'autant mieux que Dioclétien, père de cette impératrice, était sorti de sa retraite de Dalmatie pour présider cette réunion où les intérêts de l'empire furent discutés entre Dioclétien, Galère et Licinius. L'on peut voir dans la décision prise de la frappe des monnaies de Galérie Valérie le résultat d'une entente entre ces empereurs, puisque Dioclétien était le père de cette impératrice et qu'elle était femme de Galère; on peut y reconnaître également un hommage rendu à Dioclétien.

La pièce d'or suivante, qui présente le même type du revers que les monnaies d'or qui seront frappées dans la seconde partie de l'émission, fait partie de la première partie, car elle est à l'effigie de Maximin César.

Avec Δ |
ALE

On trouve—

Au revers.—SOLE INVICTO. Le Soleil radié en robe longue, debout à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant la tête de Sérapis.

Au droit.—MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 155; BR. MVS.; 19 m.m.; pièce de l'espèce du 60^{me} à la livre d'or.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis la reconnaissance de Maximin et Constantin Augustes en Mai 309 jusqu'à la mort de Galère le 5 Mai 311.

En effet Galère ayant accédé aux réclamations de Maximin Daza lui donna le titre d'Auguste, mais accorda le même titre à Constantin, en Mai 309. À partir de ce moment on frappa les monnaies des quatre Augustes,

Galère, Constantin, Maximin, et Licinius, dans leurs états respectifs; tandis que l'empereur de Rome, Maxence, restait à l'écart.

Avec les chiffres et lettres dans le champ et l'exergue suivants—

$\begin{array}{c ccccc} A & - & B & - & \Gamma & - \\ K & & P & & & \\ \hline A & L & E \end{array}$	on	$\begin{array}{c ccccc} A & - & B & - & \Gamma & - \\ X & & K & & & \\ \hline A & L & E \end{array}$
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On trouve—

I. *Au revers.—GENIO IMPERATORIS.* Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 52; FR. 8834-35-37-38; BR. MVS.; 23 m.m.; off. A—

$\begin{array}{c|ccccc} X & | & & & & \\ \Delta & | & K & | & & \\ \hline A & L & E \end{array}$
--

2. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 192; BR. MVS.; off. A seulement.

3. IMP. C. VAL. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ; pièces déjà indiquées; Cohen, 43.

4. IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Cohen, 48, de Galère. Toutes les officines; pièces déjà indiquées.

II. *Au revers.—VENERI VICTRICI.* Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—GAL. VALERIA AVG. Son buste à droite, drapé et avec un diadème dans les cheveux. Cohen, 2; FR. 8692 et 8695; BR. MVS.; 23 m.m.; off. Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ.

Également avec la lettre d'officine à gauche	$\begin{array}{c|ccccc} X & | & & & & \\ \Delta & | & & & & \\ \hline A & L & E \end{array}$
--	--

Avec $\frac{A-B-F-\Delta-C-S}{P|R}$
ALE

On trouve—

Au revers.—VIRTVS EXERCITVS. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Cohen, 204; BR. MVS.; off. Δ. [PL. V., No. 9.]

Les pièces d'or suivantes font partie de cette seconde partie de l'émission ; en effet elles furent frappées après l'élévation de Maximin Auguste et elles ne peuvent pas faire partie de l'émission de 311, qui ne sortit que de trois officines. Elles n'ont pas non plus les différents des monétaires qu'on trouve sur les pièces de l'émission qui parut avant la mort de Daza en 312 et 313.

Avec $\frac{\Delta}{ALE}$

Au revers.—SOLE INVICTO. Le Soleil radié, en robe longue, debout à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant une Victoire.

Au droit.—MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 154; FR.; espèce de 60^{me} à la livre d'or.

Avec $\frac{}{ALE}$

On trouve—

Au revers.—SOLI INVICTO. Le Soleil radié en robe longue, le manteau rejeté, levant la droite et tenant la tête de Sérapis dans la main gauche.

Au droit.—MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce décrite pour la première fois par

M. Gneochi.¹⁷ Coll. Gneochi et H. MVS. V.;
6 gr. 20; 20 m.m.

TROISIÈME ÉMISSION.

Cette émission parut depuis la mort de Galère, survenue le 5 Mai 311, pendant tout le cours de l'année 311.

En effet elle ne contient plus de monnaies de Galère Auguste, mais elle comprend les pièces commémoratives de cet empereur désigné comme *Divus* et elle fut suivie, ainsi que je l'expliquerai plus loin, par une autre émission qui commença à être frappée au plus tard au début de 312.

L'Atelier ne fonctionne au cours de l'émission présente qu'avec trois officines. Il en comprenait auparavant six et en eut huit ensuite. La cause probable de cette diminution momentanée de l'activité de l'atelier d'Alexandrie peut être cherchée dans la prise de possession par Maximin Daza de la Bithynie après la mort de Galère. Cette province comprenait l'atelier de Nicomédio qui appartenait à Galère aussi probablement que celui de Cyzique. Maximin Daza en s'emparant de ces ateliers put diminuer momentanément l'importance de celui d'Alexandrie, du moins il arrivait souvent à cette époque que la fermeture d'une partie des officines d'un atelier coïncidait avec l'ouverture d'un nouvel atelier dans les états du même empereur.

PREMIÈRE ET DEUXIÈME SÉRIES.

La 1^{re} série présente une lettre numérale grecque

¹⁷ F. Gneochi, *Appunti di Numismatica Romana*, 1896, extrait de *Rivista Ital. di Numismatica*, 1896, fasc. ii.

d'officine avec le chiffre K = 20 et la lettre P = (*Pecunia*) et un différent monétaire, croissant ou étoile dans le champ. La 2^e série présente le chiffre X au lieu de la lettre P.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE	A—B—Γ
	K | P — ALE

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE	A—B—Γ
	K | X — ALE

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—**GENIO IMPERATORIS.** Génie coiffé du modius, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une patère d'où la liqueur se répand et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—**IMP. O. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG.** Cohen, 52; FR. 8831-32-35, 1^{re} série; off. A—B—Γ; FR. 8834; BR. MVS. avec l'étoile $\bullet | \Gamma$
 K | P
 —
 ALE

2. **FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG.** Cohen, 102; FR. 9088; 6 gr. 76; 26 m.m.; BR. MVS.; coll. Voetter; 1^{re} série; off. A.

3. **IMP. C. VAL. LICINIVS P.F. AVG.** Cohen, 43; BR. MVS.; 23 m.m.; 1^{re} série; off. B.

II. *Au revers*.—**BONO GENIO PII IMPERATORIS.** Génie coiffé du modius, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère d'où la liqueur se répand et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—**FL. VALER. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG.** Sa tête laurée à droite; pièce inédite. coll. Voetter; 1^{re} série; off. A—Γ.

2. **FL. VALERIUS CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG.** Même tête. Cohen, 31, mais dans la légende du

revers Cohen a oublié le mot PII; FR. 9067; off. A—B; 1^{re} série.¹⁸ [Pl. V., No. 10.]

Cette émission est la première au cours de laquelle les pièces de Constantin ne sont plus frappées dans une seule officine, A, mais dans trois.

3. IMP. C. VALER. LICIN. LICINTIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 1; FR. 9016; off. A;

exceptionnellement

K	A
———	
ALE	

4. IMP. C. VAL. LIC. LICINNIVS P.F. AVG. Même tête. Cohen, 2; FR. 9017; 6 gr. 30; 24 m.m.; 1^{re} série; off. B.

5. IMP. C. GALER. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 2; FR. 8773-74-75-76-77; 8 gr. 95; 24 m.m.; 2^{me} série; off. A—B—Γ.

III. *Au revers*.—BONO GENIO IMPERATORIS. Même type du revers.

Au droit. 1.—FL. VALERIVS CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 31; coll. Voetter; 2^{me} série; off. A—Γ.

2. IMP. C. GALER. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Cohen, 1; indiquée dans Banduri.

IV. *Au revers*.—AETERNAE MEMORIAE GAL. MAXIMIANI. Autel allumé orné d'un bas-relief représentant une branche de laurier sur laquelle se tient un aigle portant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit.—DIVO MAXIMIANO MAXIMINVS AVG. FIL. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 7; FR. 8470; BR. MVS.; 6 gr. 40; 26 m.m. et 23 m.m.; 1^{re} série; off. Γ.

¹⁸ F. Gnecchi, *Appunti di Numismatica Romana*, 1901, p. 27, a décrit cette pièce; extrait de la *Rivista Ital. di Numismatica*, xiv., fasc. ii.

Il faut remarquer que la traduction de cette légende est celle-ci : *Au Divin Maximien (Galère) Maximus Auguste (son) fils.* Cette formule indique simplement que Maximin Daza a été adopté par Galère et non qu'il a reçu de lui le titre de FIL. AVG. ; que nous savons au contraire avoir été rejeté par Daza.

V. *Au revers.*—VIRTVS EXERCITVS. Avec le type déjà décrit avec cette légende.

*Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. GAI. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F.
AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 204 :
BR. MVS.; 1^{re} série; off. A—B—Γ; excep-*

tionnellement avec l'étoile

2. IMP. C. GALER. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG.
Même tête. Cohen, 205; BR. MVS. avec

K | B
X
AHE

VI. *Anvers*.—VENERI VICTRICI. Avec le type déjà décrit avec cette légende. Cohen, 2.

Au droit. — GAL. VALERIA AVG. Son buste à droite, drapé et avec un diadème dans les cheveux. BR. MVS; 1^{re} série; off. I; également avec

*
K | P
ALE

Les pièces de Valérie continuèrent, ainsi que le prouve cette émission, à être frappées après la mort de Galère, mais pendant peu de temps, car on ne les trouve plus dans l'émission qui suivit celle-ci. Elles cessèrent probablement d'être émises au courant de l'année 311, ce qui confirme le récit de Lactance, d'après lequel ce fut après avoir fait, dans l'année de son deuil, une tentative pour

l'épouser, que Maximin reléguait cette impératrice dans les déserts de Syrie.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE	X | A-B-J'
	— ALE

QUATRIÈME SÉRIE	X | A-B-J'
	— ALE

On trouve —

1. *Au revers.* — GENIO AVGVSTI. Génie coiffé du modius, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant la tête de Sérapis dans la main droite et une corne d'abondance sur le bras gauche.

Au droit. 1. — IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 17; FR. 8785, 5 gr. 40, 21 m.m.; 13996, 3^e série, off. B—J'; FR. 13995; BR. MVS., 4^e série, off. B—J'. [PL V., No. 12.]

2. IMP. C. LIC. LICINNIVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 32; BR. MVS.; 4^e série; off. A.

3. FL. VALER. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 172; BR. MVS.; coll. Voetter; 4^e série; off. A.

QUATRIÈME ÉMISSION.

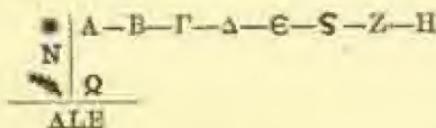
Frappée depuis le commencement de l'année 312 et jusqu'à la mort de Maximin Daza en Juin ou Juillet 313.

En effet cette émission comprend encore des monnaies commémoratives de Galère et des pièces de Galérie Valérie. Les unes et les autres durent être émises tout au début de 312, car l'on frappait généralement les pièces commémoratives des empereurs pendant l'année qui suivait leur mort; et le récit de Lactance, qui affirme que Galérie Valérie fut persécutée par Maximin Daza dans le temps même de son deuil après la mort de Galère (5 Mai 311), est confirmé par les frappes des divers ateliers d'Orient où les monnaies

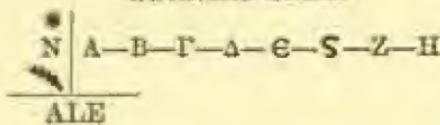
de Valérie cessèrent de paraître dans l'année même qui suivit cette mort. D'autre part l'émission présente cessa de paraître avant la mort de Maximin Daza, puisque toutes ses séries comprennent des monnaies de Daza. Les monnaies de bronze ou folles dont elle se compose ont un poids moyen de 5 grammes 50 centigrammes ; leurs diamètres sont de 20 à 22 millimètres. Ces monnaies présentent au revers comme différentes des monétaires : d'abord l'étoile déjà parue dans l'émission antérieure, puis la palme et la couronne qui sont nouveaux, parfois un point à l'exergue avec la désignation de l'atelier ALE, dans le champ la lettre N et une lettre numérale grecque d'officine.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

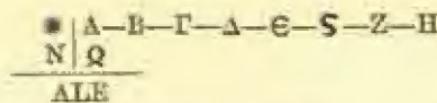
Avec les lettres et signes suivants—



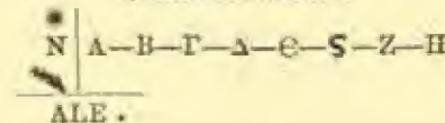
DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.



TROISIÈME SÉRIE.



QUATRIÈME SÉRIE.



On trouve—

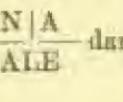
- I. *Au revers.* — GENIO AVGUSTI. Avec le type déjà décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 20; BR. MVS., 1^{re} série avec toutes les officines; BR. MVS. et FR. 14004.5-6-7-8, 2^{me} série, toutes les officines, poids 5 gr. 30, diam. 22 m.m.; FR. 14009, 4^{me} série, off. E.

On trouve également 

2. IMP. C. LIC. LICINNIUS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 33; FR. 14112; 5 gr. 30; 20 m.m.; BR. MVS., 1^{re} série avec toutes les officines; BR. MVS., FR. 14113, 2^{me} série, off. A—B—Δ—E; FR. 14114, 3^{me} série, off. Δ—E; H. MVS. V., 4^{me} série, off. Δ.

3. FIL. VALER. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 172; BR. MVS.; coll. Voetter et Mowat, 1^{re} série, toutes les officines; BR. MVS.; coll. Voetter, 2^{me} série, toutes les officines; BR. MVS., 3^{me} série, off. A—B—F—Δ—E.

On trouve également  dans la collection du British Museum.

- II. *Au revers.* — AETERNAE MEMORIAE GAL. MAXIMIANI. Avec le revers déjà décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit. — DIVO MAXIMIANO MAXIMINVS AVG. FIL. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 7; FR. 8470 bis.

Cette pièce présente au revers—

 [Pl. V., No. 13.]

Cet ensemble de signes ne rentre dans aucune des

quatre séries. C'est pourquoi j'ai décrit cette pièce à la fin de l'émission, bien qu'elle ait dû être frappée au commencement, car elle fut probablement suivant la règle la plus courante dans l'année qui suivit la mort de Galère, qui est du 5 Mai, 311.

CINQUIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis la mort de Maximin Daza en Juin ou Juillet 313, jusqu'au moment où les nouvelles de la guerre entre Constantin et Licinius parvinrent à Alexandrie avec celles de l'élevation de Valens Auguste, en Octobre 314.

En effet cette émission ne contient plus de monnaies de Maximin Daza,¹³ et elle dut commencer à être frappée lorsqu'après la mort de ce prince, l'atelier passa dans les états de Licinius. D'autre part, les monnaies de Valens Auguste parurent au début de l'émission suivante.

Constantin n'intervint pas dans la guerre entre Licinius et Maximin Daza qui devait le débarrasser d'un rival présent Maximin, secrètement allié de Maxence ; au profit d'un rival futur Licinius, dont s'accroissait la puissance.

Mais les ambitions de Constantin et de Licinius ne purent rester longtemps en présence sans que la guerre

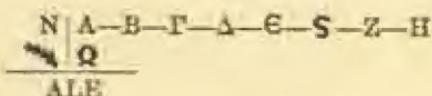
¹³ Maximin Daza mit fin à ses jours par le poison en Juin ou Juillet 313 (cf. Euseb., *Histor. ecclæ.*, x. 5; Lactant., *De Morte Persecutorum*, c. xlvi, xlviij., xlix.). Maximin, après sa défaite de Tzirallum du 30 Avril 313 traversa ses états et se rendit à Tarse en Cilicie, où à l'abri derrière les défilés du Taurus il se préparait de nouveau à la guerre tandis que Licinius s'était arrêté à Nicomédie, où il publia le 13 Juin, 313, son édit de tolérance à l'égard des chrétiens, sans doute pour se concilier les populations.

Ce fut, d'après le récit de Lactance, en se voyant abandonné de tous que Maximin mit fin à ses jours.

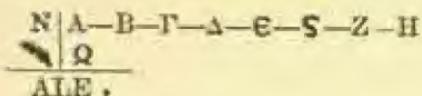
éclata. Constantin s'étant aperçu pendant l'été de 314, que Licinius excitait à le trahir son propre beau-frère Bassianus, en l'attirant à lui par la promesse d'être créé César,²⁰ saisit ce prétexte pour déclarer la guerre et envahit la Pannonie à la fin du mois de Septembre ou au début d'Octobre 314.²¹

Cette émission ne comprend plus que les monnaies de Constantin et de Licinius. Elle se compose de pièces de bronze ou folles réduits à des poids oscillants entre 4 grammes 80 c. et 3 grammes 50 et à diamètres de 20 à 21 millimètres.

Première Série.



DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.



On trouve—

L. Au revers. — GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Le génie coiffé du modius, à demi-nu debout à gauche, tenant une tête de Sérapis de la main droite et une corne d'abondance sur le bras gauche.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. LIC. LICINNIUS P.F. AVG.
Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 55 ; BR. MVS. ;
FR. 14130 ; 4 gr. 35 ; 21 m.m. ; H. MVS. V. ;
4 gr. 75 ; 20 m.m. ; 1^{re} série, toutes les officines.

²⁰ *Anonymus Valerii*, 5, 14 (édition Teubner).

²¹ La bataille importante de Cibales en Pannonie inférieure est du 8 Octobre 314 (cf. Idace : *in Fastis*), mais les deux armées avaient eu déjà des engagements d'avant-garde en Pannonie, cf. Eutrope : *Brevierum Hist. rom.*, lib. x., cap. 5.

2. FL. VALER. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite; pièce inédite, voisine de Cohen, 235; BR. MVS.; coll. Voetter, 1^{re} et 2^{me} série; toutes les officines. [Pl. VI., No. 1.]

TROISIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec
$$\begin{array}{c} N | A-B-\Gamma-\Delta-\epsilon-S-Z-H \\ \hline ALE \end{array}$$

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. LIC. LICINNIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 72; BR. MVS.; FR. 14147; 4 gr. 10; 21 m.m. Toutes les officines. [Pl. VI., No. 2.]

2. FL. VALER. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. On ne peut pas retrouver cette pièce dans Cohen, dont le tableau n'est que confusion. BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.; coll. Voetter; toutes les officines.

QUATRIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec
$$\begin{array}{c} Q \\ | \\ A-B-\Gamma-\Delta-\epsilon-S-Z-H \\ \hline N \\ \hline ALE \end{array}$$

- I. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG. Avec le type du revers qui vient d'être décrit.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. VAL. LICIN. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 109; BR. MVS.; FR. 14210-11-12-13-14-15-16; 3 gr. 70; 19 m.m.; H. MVS. V.; avec toutes les officines. [Pl. VI., No. 3.]

2. IMP. C. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG.
 Tête analogie. Cohen, 297; BR. MVS.; H.
 MVS. V.; avec toutes les officines.

La pièce suivante du Musée impérial de Vienne est un exemple frappant de ce que les folles qui étaient les seules monnaies de bronze frappées depuis l'année 308, ayant été réduits de poids plusieurs fois, se trouvaient en 313-314 avoir le poids et le diamètre de l'ancien denier de Dioclétien. En effet c'est sur l'une de ces pièces qui porte encore le nom de Dioclétien que se trouve inscrit également le nom de Licinius.

On trouve—

Au revers.—IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG. Avec le type du revers qui vient d'être décrit.

Au droit.—On lit : IMP. C. V. DIOCLETIANVS et en dessous LICENTIVS P.F. AVG. Tête laurée à droite. Les deux légendes sont en partie superposées. H. MVS. V., No. 25568.

SIXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis le moment où les nouvelles de la guerre entre Constantin et Licinius et celles de l'élevation de Valens parvinrent à Alexandrie en Octobre 314, jusqu'à la reconnaissance des Césars Crispus, Constantin II et Licinius II, le 1^{er} Mars 317.

Cette émission se divise en deux parties. La première est caractérisée par les pièces de Valens Auguste et la seconde par celles de Constantin. Les monnaies de Licinius, au contraire, sont frappées sans interruption pendant toute la durée de l'émission. Voici comment s'expliquent ces faits et les raisons qui permettent de

déterminer à peu près le temps pendant lequel parut chaque partie de l'émission.

L'atelier d'Alexandrie appartenait à Licinius à l'époque qui nous occupe. En conséquence les monnaies de Constantin n'y furent pas émises pendant la guerre de 314 entre ces deux empereurs, et l'on frappa au contraire celles de Valens créé Auguste par Licinius pendant cette guerre.²² Après que la paix fut conclue entre Licinius et Constantin, au contraire les monnaies de ce dernier empereur remplacèrent celles de Valens, qui fut vers cette époque dégradé²³ et plus tard mis à mort.

Voici maintenant comment se classent chronologiquement les événements.

La première défaite de Licinius au cours de la guerre de 314 eut lieu à Cibales en Pannonie le 8 Octobre. Ce fut, d'après le récit des auteurs les plus complets sur ce sujet, aussitôt après cette défaite que Licinius crée César Valens qui était Dux Limitis, mais les monnaies nous prouvent que ce fut réellement le titre d'Auguste qui lui fut attribué ; puis les deux empereurs gagnèrent le plus rapidement possible la Thrace pour y réunir une armée. Ce fut donc à ce moment, vers le milieu d'Octobre, que la

²² *L'Anonymus Valens*, v. 17, dit que Licinius après la bataille de Cibales s'enfuit à Sirmium et que : "Sublata inde uxoris ac filio et thessuris tetendit ad Daciam. Valentem ducem limitis Caesarem fecit." — Valens devait être *dux limitis* en Moesie.

²³ *L'Anonymus Valens*, id., "Mandatum est Valens privatus fieret." — *Petrus Patricius legal.* 13, et *Victor, Epitome*, 40, 9, "Valens a Licinio morte multatur." O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, vol. i., p. 163, explique par la suite des événements que ce fut bien Licinius qui condamna Valens à mort après la conclusion de la paix, ainsi que le dit *l'Epitome*. Le Professeur O. Seeck a renouvelé toute l'histoire de ces guerres.

nouvelle de l'élévation de Valens au rang d'Auguste dut parvenir à Constantinople, d'où elle pouvait arriver par mer à Cyzique, puis à Alexandrie, dont les ateliers frappèrent des monnaies de cet empereur éphémère. Mais d'après les auteurs anciens la mer était fermée à la navigation à partir du milieu de Novembre.²⁴ On a des exemples de flottes retenues dans des ports pendant la période hivernale et ce qui est plus probant plusieurs lois du Code Théodosien²⁵ datées de l'automne aux lieux de leurs expéditions en Europe et en Asie ne furent reçues en Afrique qu'au printemps de l'année suivante. Ce fut donc avant la période hivernale, c'est à dire vers la fin d'Octobre, que la nouvelle de l'élévation de Valens dut parvenir à Alexandrie, ensuite, les mers n'étant plus navigables, on n'y dut apprendre la paix conclue entre Constantin et Licinius qu'au printemps de 315 ; bien que ces empereurs aient pris le consulat ensemble le 1^{er} Janvier 315. En conséquence nous aurons la division suivante de l'émission.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE.

Frappée depuis le mois d'Octobre 314 jusqu'au printemps de 315.

Avec le chiffre X, le différent monétaire Q, les lettres d'officines et l'exergue suivants—

K	Q
	X
	A—B
<hr/>	
ALE	

²⁴ Vegèce, v. 9, Maria clauduntur.

²⁵ *Code Théodosien*, xi., 21, 2 ; xv., 3, 2. Voir pour ces dates, O. Seeck, *Die Zeitfolge d. Gesetze Constantins : Zeitschrift f. Rechtsgeschichte*, tome x., p. 39.

On trouve—

Au revers.—IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG. Avec le type déjà indiqué avec cette légende.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. AVR. VAL. VALENS P.F. AVG. Tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 2; BR. MVS.; coll. Gneochi; off. A; 20 m.m. Cette tête, ainsi que l'a remarqué M. Gneochi, est celle de Licinius.²⁷ [Pl. VI., No. 4.]

2. IMP. C. VAL. LICIN. LICINIUS P.F. AVG. Même tête. Cohen, 109; FR. 19217-18-19; BR. MVS.; off. A—B.

Les pièces de Valens présentent la même effigie que celles de Licinius. M. Gneochi, qui en a fait le premier la remarque, a émis l'idée, dans son intéressante discussion des raisons de cette frappe d'apparence anormale,²⁸ que l'effigie de Valens n'avait pas eu le temps d'être envoyée à Alexandrie. Mais l'on peut ajouter que même si la chancellerie impériale de Licinius avait eu le moyen de faire parvenir à Alexandrie et à Cyzique l'effigie vraie de Valens, elle ne l'eut pas fait. En effet l'étude des ateliers monétaires de cette époque prouve que la frappe des monnaies d'un empereur avec l'effigie d'un de ses corégents n'est pas un cas isolé. Il y a même un ordre dans ce désordre apparent des frappes d'effigies impériales. Voici des faits qui le prouvent.

Dans l'atelier de Rome, la tête de Maxence fut attribuée à Constantin sur les pièces qui portent le nom de cet

²⁷ F. Gneochi, *Appunti di Numismatica Romana*, 1893, pp. 5, 6, 7; extrait de la *Rivista Ital. d. Numismatica*, 1893, fasc. ii., pl. iv.

²⁸ Cf. F. Gneochi, *Appunti di Numism. Romana*, 1893, p. 4. *Piccolo Bronzo di Valente Tyranno*; extrait de *Rivista Ital. di Num.*, 1893, t. vi., fasc. ii.

empereur.²⁰ A Siscia, ce fut celle de Licinius qui lui fut prêtée, notamment lorsque Constantin fut désigné comme *Filius Augustorum* en 309²¹ et d'une façon générale, Licinius fit frapper son effigie sur les pièces de Maximin et de Constantin; Maximin Daza fit émettre avec son effigie à Antioche et à Alexandrie les monnaies de Licinius²² et de Constantin.

Ce dernier empereur n'a sa véritable effigie, qui est imberbe, que sur celles de ses monnaies qui sont frappées dans ses propres ateliers,²³ tandis que Maxence et Maximin Daza ont émis dans leurs états des têtes de Constantin barbues qui sont les leurs.

Depuis la première tétrarchie impériale organisée en 293 par Dioclétien, l'unité législative et fictive de l'empire avait été maintenue; aussi chacun des empereurs régnants frappait-il des monnaies aux noms de ses corégents lorsqu'il était en paix avec eux; mais l'unité administrative de l'empire n'existe plus et il n'y avait pas de chancellerie qui expédia l'effigie d'un empereur dans les états de ses corégents. Chaque atelier attribuait le plus généralement l'effigie de son propre souverain à tous les empereurs aux noms desquels il émettait des monnaies. Si Valens avait régné après la guerre de 314, il aurait fait frapper son effigie sur ses monnaies dans ses ateliers, mais il fut

²⁰ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Rome*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, pl. ix., No. 2.

²¹ Id., *L'Atelier monétaire de Siscia*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1900, pl. xv., No. 5.

²² Id., *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, pl. xiii., Nos. 4 et 5, dont les effigies sont paroilles.

²³ Id., *L'Atelier monétaire de Londres*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1900, pl. iv., No. 2, frappe dès l'année 306 et seq. Id., *L'Atelier monétaire de Constantinople*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1901, pl. v., No. 9.

abandonné par Licinius et mourut avant d'avoir régné personnellement sur une partie de l'empire, aussi n'eut-il jamais son effigie personnelle sur ses monnaies.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE.

Frappée depuis le printemps de l'année 315 jusqu'au 1^{er} Mars 317, date de l'élevation des trois Césars, Crispus, Constantin II, et Licinius II.

On trouve également au revers avec—

K	Ω
X	
Λ—Β	

ALE

1. *Au revers.*—IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG. Avec le type du revers déjà décrit.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 297; FR. 14719; 3 gr. 12; 20 m.m.; BR. MVS.; off. A—B. [Pl. VI., No. 5.]

2. IMP. C. VAL. LICIN. LICINIUS P.F. AVG. Même tête. Cohen, 109; FR. 14217 à 19; BR. MVS.; off. A—B.

Avec les mêmes lettres, chiffres et signe du revers—

K	Ω
X	
Α	

ALE

On trouve également—

Au revers.—IOVI CONSERVATORI CAESS. Avec le même type du revers que la légende précédente.

*Au droit.—D. N. CONSTANTINVS LICINIVS N.
CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 29;
FR. 14399; 3 gr. 30; 21 m.m.; Musée Bréra.
[Pl. VI., No. 6.]*

Le classement de cette pièce dans cette émission est confirmé par celui de trois autres monnaies de bronze dans des émissions contemporaines des ateliers de Nicomédie et de Cyzique. Ce sont des monnaies frappées aux noms des deux Licinius Auguste et César désignés comme princes Joviens. Ces pièces font partie, ainsi que celles d'Alexandrie qui viennent d'être décrites, d'émissions qui précèdent celle où paraissent les monnaies des trois Césars. On distingue facilement ces émissions par ce qu'elles ne présentent dans le champ du revers²³ ni chiffres ni différents monétaires. Ces monnaies portent au revers trois légendes analogues—

1. I. O. M. ET FORT. CONSER. DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES.
2. I. O. M. ET VICT. CONSER. DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES.
3. I. O. M. ET VIRTVTI DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES.

= À Nicomédie l'exergue $\frac{|A}{SMN}$ avec une lettre d'atelier dans le champ du revers distingue la 1^{re} émission de celle où paraissent les monnaies des Césars qui présentent un différent monétaire $\frac{X|A}{SMN}$ ou des chiffres $\frac{III\Gamma}{SMNA}$; à Cyzique l'on a pour la première émission l'exergue $\frac{|}{SMKA}$ et pour celle des trois Césars $\frac{Q|A}{SMK}$ et $\frac{X|III\Gamma}{SMKA}$

Dont il suffira de traduire la première : Jovi Optimo Maximo et Fortunae Conservatoribus Dominorum Nostrorum Augusti et Caesaris ; et au droit la même légende—

DD. NN. IOVII LICINII INVICT. AVG. ET CAES.
Avec les bustes des deux Licinius.²³

Ces trois pièces parurent donc avant celles de Crispus et de Constantin II César, c'est à dire avant le 1^{er} Mars 317.

C'est dans la même émission que l'on doit ranger également une monnaie décrite par M. Gneechi²⁴ et qui présente au droit une légende analogue à celle de la pièce d'Alexandrie. On y lit en effet les mêmes noms de Constantinus Licinius—

Au droit.—VA. CO. LICINIVS N. CS.

Au revers.—IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG.

Cette pièce dut être frappée en 315 après la réconciliation des deux Augustes ; de même que celle d'Alexandrie.

La frappe de ces deux monnaies en 315 ainsi que la présence des trois pièces des Licinius Auguste et César permet de résoudre un délicat problème historique et de mettre d'accord les textes des auteurs anciens. En effet Zosime et Aurelius Victor placent aussitôt après la guerre de 314 et la paix qui la suivit,²⁵ l'élevation des Césars Crispus, Constantin II et Licinius II. L'*Anonyme* de

²³ Cohen, 2^{me} édition, 1888, vol. vii., pp. 210-211.

²⁴ F. Gneechi, *Appunti di Numismatica Romana*, 1899, pp. 1-6, extrait de la *Rivista Ital. di Numismatica*, vii., fasc. iii.

²⁵ Zosime dans son histoire, liv. ii., c. 21, a évidemment confondu deux éléverions successives des Césars, ainsi qu'on le verra plus loin. Les autres auteurs qui placent comme lui l'élevation des Césars en 315 ont fait de même, cf. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, 58; *de Caesaribus*, 41.

Valois,²² auteur généralement bien informé, fait de même et place après cette élévation des Césars la prise en commun du consulat par Constantin et Licinius, qui semble être celle de l'année 315. Les chroniqueurs au contraire, Idace dans ses *Fastes*, l'auteur du *Chronicon Paschale*, donnent comme date de cet évènement le 1^{er} Mars 317. Leur affirmation est confirmée par un témoignage presque officiel. L'auteur du *Panégyrique*²³ prononcé à Rome dans la quinzième année de Constantin, c'est à dire en 321, célèbre le quinquennalia des Césars dont la nomination est ainsi fixée en 317.

Des témoignages presque contemporains sont donc nettement contradictoires. Ce sont ceux de Zosime, d'Aurelius Victor et de l'*Anonyme* de Valois d'une part, des chroniqueurs et de l'auteur du *Panégyrique* d'autre part. Pour les premiers, les Césars ont été créés en 315 ; pour les seconds en 317. L'on peut encore ajouter que pour Zosime et Victor²⁴ le jeune Licinius avait 20 mois lorsqu'il fut fait César. Or le professeur O. Seeck,²⁵ dans un travail plein de découvertes intéressantes, a démontré que cet enfant devait être le même que celui dont l'*Anonyme* de Valois dit que Licinius se sauva en l'emmenant avec lui ainsi que sa femme après la bataille de Cibales, qui eut lieu le 8 Octobre 314. Cet enfant aurait eu beaucoup plus de vingt mois le 1^{er} Mars 317, mais il

²² *Anonymus Valens*, v., 19. Il n'est pas certain toutefois que cet auteur n'ait pas voulu indiquer le consulat de Constantin Auguste avec Licinius César en 319, sous lequel commença la persécution des Chrétiens en orient dont il parle en suite.

²³ *Nazarii Panegyricus*, Eumenii x., cap. 2.

²⁴ Voir les passages indiqués.

²⁵ O. Seeck, *Die Ferwandsmorde Constantins d. Grossen*, *Zeitschrift f. Wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1890, pp. 74 et 75.

est au contraire très vraisemblable qu'il les avait en 315, et ce raisonnement prouve que sans aucun doute ces auteurs ont bien voulu placer en 315, comme l'indiquent les textes, l'élévation des Césars. La numismatique peut seule concilier ces opinions différentes et apporter la lumière dans ce chaos. L'étude des émissions monétaires d'Alexandrie, de Nicomédie et de Cyzique, ateliers de Licinius, nous apprend en effet, ainsi qu'on vient de le voir, que l'empereur d'Orient Licinius tenta une première fois d'élever son fils au rang de César aussitôt après la guerre de 314 et qu'il invita peut-être Constantin à en faire autant pour Crispus, comme porte à le croire la légende "Iovi Conservatori Caess." où il est question des Césars. Mais Constantin refusa de suivre Licinius dans cette voie; c'est ce qui ressort de ce fait que les monnaies des trois Césars ne parurent que dans des émissions ultérieures des ateliers d'Orient et d'Occident. Ces émissions ont dû débuter au printemps de l'année 317.

Ainsi les trois Césars furent reconnus dans tout l'empire le 1^{er} Mars 317; ce fut alors que parurent leurs monnaies. C'est ce qui explique la certitude avec laquelle Idace et l'auteur du *Panégyrique* fixent cette date comme celle de leur élévation. D'autre part il n'y a rien d'étonnant à ce que Zosime, dont l'histoire est en général très complète sur les événements du règne de Licinius, l'*Anonyme de Valois* et *Aurelius Victor*, aient considéré comme l'époque de l'élévation des Césars celle où Licinius proclama son fils comme tel et tenta sans doute de décider Constantin à en faire autant pour Crispus, c'est à dire l'année 315.⁴⁰ Bien

⁴⁰ J'ai démontré dans mon travail sur *L'Atelier monétaire de Londres*, *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 135, la nécessité de reporter au

qu'il soit impossible d'entrer ici dans de grands détails sur ce sujet, je puis dire que l'on devine les mobiles de la conduite des empereurs, dès que l'on admet ce fait révélé par les émissions monétaires ; de deux élévations successives des Césars, une première fois de Licinius jeune par son père, une seconde fois des trois Césars par les deux empereurs Constantin et Licinius. Une loi du Code Théodosien de l'année 336^a nous apprend, ainsi que l'a remarqué O. Seeck, que le fils de Licinius était né d'une esclave et cette loi décide qu'il retournera à l'état de sa mère, bien qu'il ait obtenu par décret impérial la plus haute dignité, c'est à dire le rang de fils d'empereur, de César. Cette loi modifie le droit alors existant, en faisant retourner tout fils d'esclave à la condition de sa mère. Mais cette disposition n'existe pas lorsque Licinius crée son fils César et il devait bien espérer le faire échapper ainsi pour toujours aux conséquences de sa naissance servile. D'autre part, pour Constantin le jeune Licinius était presque un usurpateur, puisque Licinius avait épousé Constantia, sœur de Constantin, dont il n'avait pas eu d'enfant. Mais en 317 Constantin avait des raisons particulières de reconnaître l'élévation de Licinius. Le jeune Constantin II venait de voir le jour à Arles dans la seconde moitié de l'année 316, ainsi que

^a Mars, 317, la frappe des monnaies des trois Césars dans les états de Constantin, et j'ai indiqué la confusion établie par l'*Anonyme de Valois*.

"*Code Théodosien*, édition Hahn, liv. 4, tit. 6, de *Naturalibus filiis*, lois 2 et 3. "Itaque Liciniani etiam filio qui per rescriptum sanctissimum dignitatis culmen ascendit, omnis substantia auferatur et secundum hanc legem fisco aliquidetur, ipso verberando, compedibus vinciendo, ad sue originis primordia redigendo." *Lecta III Kal. Maii Carthaginis Nepotiano et Facundo Cosse.* (336).

l'a établi M. Ferrero.⁴¹ Constantin, heureux d'élever au rang de César ses deux fils Crispus et Constantin II qu'il avait eu de Minervina, et de Fausta dont il devait ainsi satisfaire l'ambition, dut cette fois accepter les propositions de Licinius et faire ainsi reconnaître les trois Césars dans les empires d'Orient et d'Occident.

SEPTIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis le 1^{er} Mars 317, date de l'élévation des Césars Licinius II, Crispus et Constantin II, jusqu'à l'élévation de Constantius César le 8 Novembre 324.⁴²

En effet on trouve dans cette émission des monnaies frappées aux noms des trois premiers Césars, mais on n'y rencontre pas celles de Constantius II.

Cette émission comprend deux séries. La première est caractérisée par la présence dans le champ du revers des chiffres ^X III et par la légende *Jori Conserratori*, qui fut frappée en même temps dans tous les ateliers d'Orient ; la seconde par la légende *Jori Conserratori Augg. et Caess.* au sujet de laquelle on peut faire la même remarque. Ces deux séries monétaires sont contemporaines et furent frappées toutes deux simultanément de 317 à 324. En effet la première fut émise jusqu'en 324, puisqu'elle

= E. Ferrero, *Mogli et Figli di Constantino*, *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. xxiiii, 1898 ; séance du 13 février, extrait p. 7.

⁴¹ Cette date est celle des *Fustes d'Idace*. Voir pour plus de détails : *Dizionario Epigrafico di Rugiero*, vol. ii., p. 668 ; article *Constantius II*, par O. Seeck. Constantius II fut consul éponyme le 1^{er} janvier 326, il devait avoir été créé César un an avant d'être consul d'après la règle en usage et avait été probablement consul *suffectus* avant d'être éponyme.

présente parmi les pièces de Nicomédie les monnaies de Martinianus Auguste, qui ne fut créé empereur que pendant la guerre de 324; la seconde fut émise aussi longtemps, puisqu'elle présente parmi les pièces d'Antioche les monnaies de Helena dont la frappe eut probablement lieu aussitôt après la guerre de 324. La dernière bataille, celle de Chalcédonie, est du 18 Septembre 324⁴⁴ et l'élevation de Constantius n'étant que du 8 Novembre,⁴⁵ des monnaies ont dû être émises pendant ce laps de temps et de ce nombre sont sans doute celles de Helena⁴⁶ à Antioche.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission pèsent en moyenne 3 gr. 50 c.; avec des poids exceptionnellement plus élevés. Elles devaient pouvoir s'échanger contre le Nummus Centenionalis ou Denier de Constantin alors en usage dans les états de Constantin le Grand.

⁴⁴ Le jour est déterminé par le *Calendrier de Philocalus*, *C. I. L.*, tome i., p. 350. L'année par la suite des événements et l'abolition des lois et Constitution de Licinius, le 18 Décembre 324, *Cod. Theod.*, lib. xv., tit. xiv., lex i.

⁴⁵ O. Seeck trouve une confirmation de l'année de son élévation dans l'inscription du *C. I. L.*, tome iii., No. 3705, qui fait coïncider avec le consulat VII de Constantius sa 30^{me} acclamation impériale. L'empereur était, d'après l'usage établi par Constantin, proclamé imperator à son élévation au trône et l'on répétait chaque année l'acclamation impériale. Constantin avait donc 30 ans de règne en 354, ce qui met son élévation en 324. Cf. O. Seeck, *Die Imperatorische Acclimationen im vierten Jahrhundert*, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1893, p. 196 et 204.

⁴⁶ Il est probable en effet que ces monnaies ne furent frappées que lorsque l'atelier d'Antioche passa dans les mains de Constantin. Il faut en conséquence faire durer l'émission d'Antioche où elles se trouvent deux mois plus tard que je n'avais osé l'affirmer dans mon travail sur cet atelier, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, p. 231. Cette septième émission d'Alexandrie correspond à la huitième d'Antioche.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Avec les chiffres^a et exergue suivants—

X	III'
SMALA—B	

On trouve—

1. *Au revers.*—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter à demi-nu debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec; à droite un captif assis.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. C. VAL. LICIN. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste radié, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 74; BR. MVS.; off. A—B.

2. IMP. C. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Buste analogue. Cohen, 292; BR. MVS.; off. A.

3. D. N. VAL. LICIN. LICINIVS NOB. C. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant un bouclier à gauche et une haste sur l'épaule droite. Cohen, 21; BR. MVS.; off. A—B. [Pl. VI, №. 7.]

^a Le chiffre $\frac{X}{III'}$ a été interprété comme 12½. Voir la bibliographie de cette question dans Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, tome 1^e, pp. 611 et 745. M. Mowat l'interprète: "decima pars sextertii"; cf. R. Mowat, *C. R. de l'Acad. des Insér. et B.-Lettres*, Octobre, 1886. Cf. O. Seeck, *Die Municipalitatis Diocletiani und seiner Nachfolger*, *Zeitschrift f. Numis.*, xvii., p. 127. Je pense comme O. Seeck que les chiffres X et III' doivent être considérés séparément, cf. J. Maurice, *L'atelier monétaire de Thessalonica*, note 86, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Wien, 1901.

L'exergue SMALA veut dire S(acra) M(oneta) AL(exandria), officine A.

4. D. N. FL. IVL CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 77; BR. MVS.; off. B.
5. D. N. FL. CL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Buste analogue. Cohen, 133; FR. 15744-45; 3 gr. 10; 20 m.m.; off. A—B.

La légende *Iovi Conservatori* qui se rencontre sur les monnaies de cette série dans les émissions des ateliers d'Orient, alterne avec *Soli Invicto Comiti* dans les séries monétaires correspondantes des ateliers d'Occident, frappées également depuis l'élévation des trois Césars en 317.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Frappée en même temps que la précédente, elle est caractérisée par le croissant comme différent monétaire et porte la lettre d'officine dans le champ à droite.

Avec ————— $\frac{v | A-B}{SMAL}$

On trouve—

1. *Au revers.*—IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG. Jupiter nu debout à gauche, la manteau flottant, tenant un globe de la droite et appuyé sur un sceptre.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Son buste lauré à gauche, avec le manteau impérial, tenant la foudre de la main droite et un sceptre avec un globe de la gauche. Cohen, 119; FR. 14193-94; BR. MVS.; off. A—B. [Pl. VI, No. 8.]

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Buste analogue. Cohen, 302, complète off. A—B; FR. 14728; 3 gr. 30; 19 m.m.; 14729, H. MVS. V.

II. *Au revers.—IOVI CONSERVATORI CAESS.* Même type du revers.

- Au droit.*
- 1.—D. N. VAL. LICIN. LICINIUS NOB. C.
Buste analogue. Pièce décrite par M. Gnechi,
Appunti di Numismatica Romana; BR. MVS.;
coll. Gnechi; L. Théry à Lille; off. A—B.
 2. D. N. FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Buste analogue. Cohen, 79; BR. MVS.; FR. 15443;
18 m.m.; off. A—B.
 3. D. N. FL. CL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Buste analogue. Cohen, 135; BR. MVS.; FR. 15749;
off. A.

HUITIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'arrènement de Constantius César le 8 Novembre 324 jusqu'à la mort de Crispus et celle de Fausta en Septembre 326.⁴²

En effet cette émission est la première qui contienne les monnaies de Constantius César et d'autre part celles de Crispus et de Fausta, dont Constantin ne fit cesser la frappe qu'aux moments de leurs morts, y sont abondantes.⁴³

⁴² Cf. J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 237.

⁴³ Cf. J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Sicia*, *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 346. O. Seeck, *Die Verwandtenmorde Constantins d. Grossen*, *Zeitschrift f. Wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1890, pp. 67-68.

Il n'y avait aucune raison de cesser la frappe des monnaies de ces personnages avant leurs morts, car ces morts suivirent de près leurs condamnations dans la pensée de Constantin. Ce fut pour Crispus dès que Constantin eut admis contre lui les accusations d'adultére élevées par Fausta, et pour cette dernière lorsque Hélène eut démontré à Constantin peu de temps après la mort de Crispus qu'il avait été induit en erreur par Fausta. J'ai démontré dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Antioche (*Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 237) que les dates de la cessation de la frappe de leurs monnaies coïncident pour Crispus et Fausta avec celles de leurs morts, telles qu'on peut les supposer d'après les récits des auteurs.

Ces monnaies sont de l'espèce du Nummus Centenionalis (Babelon).⁵⁰

Avec les exergues	$\frac{1}{\text{SMALA}}$	$\frac{1}{\text{SMALB}}$
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On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Porte de camp ouverte au milieu sans battants, surmontée de deux tours; au-dessus une étoile.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 454; FR. 14816-17; 2 gr. 36; 18 m.m.; H. MVS. V.; off. A—B.

La légende *Prudentiae Augg.* continue à être frappée alors qu'il n'y a plus qu'un seul Auguste.

II. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Même type du revers.

Au droit. 1.—FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 125; FR. 15487, 15494; 2 gr. 70; 18 m.m.; BR. MVS.; off. A—B? [Pl. VI., No. 9.]

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Buste analogue. Cohen, 165; FR. 15788; BR. MVS.; off. A—B.

On trouve également $\frac{\Omega}{\text{SMALA—B}}$ au British Museum et au Cabinet de France, 15787; 3 gr. 35; 20 m.m.

3. FL. IVL. CONSTANTEVS NOR. C. Buste analogue. Cohen, 167; off. A—B? BR. MVS.

On trouve également au British Museum $\frac{\Omega}{\text{SMALA}}$

⁵⁰ Désigné aussi comme denier Constantinien. O. Seeck, *Die Monopolistik Diocletians und s. Nachfolger*, Zeit. f. Numis. xvii. p. 127.

III. *Au revers*.—**SALVS REIPVBLICAE.** Fausta debout à gauche sous la figure de la maternité tenant ses enfants dans ses bras.

Au droit.—**FLAV. MAX. FAVSTA AVG.** Son buste avec cheveux ondulés, et drapé, à droite. Cohen, 6; FR. 15335; 4 gr. 90; 20 m.m.; BR. MVS.; off. A—B.

IV. *Au revers*.—**SPES REIPVBLICAE.** Même type du revers qu'avec "Salus Reipublicae."

Au droit.—**FLAV. MAX. FAVSTA AVG.** Son buste en cheveux ondulés, et drapé, à droite. Cohen, 15; FR. 15334; 3 gr. 50; H. MVS. V.; off. A—B.

V. *Au revers*.—**SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE.** La Sécurité voilée debout à gauche, tenant un rameau baissé et soutenant sa robe.

Au droit.—**FL. HELENA AVGSTA.** Son buste drapé à droite avec un diadème dans les cheveux et un collier de deux rangs de perles au cou. Cohen, 12 et 13; FR. 13863-84; BR. MVS.; coll. Gneechi; ¹¹ off. A—B. [Pl. VI., No. 10.]

NEUVIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis la fin de Septembre 326, postérieurement à la mort de Fausta, jusqu'aux fêtes de l'inauguration solennelle de Constantinople le 11 Mai 330.

En effet cette émission ne comprend plus de monnaies de Fausta et elle ne contient pas encore celles de Rome et de Constantinople, qui furent émises à partir du 11 Mai

¹¹ Se reporter à la collection très complète des bustes de Helena et de Fausta qui a été publié par M. Gneechi dans la *Itinera Italiana di Numismatica*, 1890, t. xxi., pl. iv.

330.²² Elle présente des pièces de Helena qui ont été frappées jusqu'en 328 ou 329.²³ Elle correspond à des émissions de Constantinople,²⁴ de Trèves,²⁵ d'Arles,²⁶ de Rome.²⁷ Les principaux ateliers de l'empire restèrent seuls ouverts pendant cette période, où ne parurent que les pièces de Constantin le Grand, des deux Césars survivants et reconnus²⁸ Constantin II et Constance II et de Helena. Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont de l'espèce du denier de Constantin ou Nummus Centenionalis ; elles ont un poids moyen un peu inférieur à 3 grammes 50 c. Avec les signes, lettres, numérales A—B ou chiffres d'officines I—II ; et exergues suivants—

$\Omega | A-B$	$\Omega | I-II$
SMAL.	SMAL.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Avec le type du revers déjà décrit.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVGG. Cohen, 454; FR. 14813-14814; 3 gr. 10; 19 m.m.; H. MVS. V.; off. A—B et I—II.

²² J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Constantinople*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1901, pp. 192-194.

²³ *Idem*, pp. 186-187.

²⁴ *Idem*, p. 183 et seq.

²⁵ Hettner, *Römische Münzhaufnunde in den Rheinlanden*, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1887, p. 148.

²⁶ O. Voetter, *Erste christliche Zeichen A. R. M.*, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Wien, 1892. Tableau des émissions d'Arles.

²⁷ Jules Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Rome*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 490. Je conservais encore, lorsque j'ai fait ce travail sur Rome, des doutes sur la durée de l'émission.

²⁸ La jeune Licinius vivait encore, mais il avait été dégradé.—O. Seeck, *Die Vergeudtenmorde Constantins d. Grossen*, *Zeitschrift f. Wissenschaft, Theologie*, 1889, p. 75.

II. *Au revers.—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.* Avec le même type du revers.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 165; FR. 15786; BR. MVS.; coll. Voetter; off. A—B et I—II.

2. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Buste analogue. Cohen, 167; FR. 16246; BR. MVS.; off. A—B et I—II. [PL VI, No. 11.]

III. *Au revers.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLCIE.* Avec le type du revers déjà décrit.

Au droit.—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA. Cohen, Nos. 12 et 13, déjà décrits; BR. MVS.; off. A—B.

De 326 à 330 l'atelier d'Alexandrie ne fonctionna qu'avec 2 officines, ainsi qu'on vient de le voir; celui de Rome en eut 4 ouvertes pendant cette période; celui de Trèves 2; celui d'Arles, Constantina, 4; celui de Constantinople, qui était le plus important de l'empire, 7.²⁰ Ce fut donc une période de peu d'activité pour les ateliers monétaires dans tout l'empire. A partir de 333, au contraire, plusieurs ateliers fermés depuis 326 s'ouvrirent au moment de l'élévation de Constans; ce sont ceux de Cyzique, de Nicomédie, d'Aquilée, de Siscia²¹; l'atelier d'Alexandrie ne fut au contraire réouvert que lors de l'élévation de Delmatius César (18 Septembre 335) dont les monnaies font partie de la première émission qui présente la légende *Gloria Exercitus*.

²⁰ Je renvoie aux citations faites plus haut pour la démonstration de ces faits.

²¹ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Siscia*, *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 353, et *L'Atelier monétaire d'Aquilée*, *Rivista Ital. di Numismatica*, 1901, p. 313.

DIXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'élévation de Delmatius, neveu de Constantin, au rang de César, le 18 Septembre 335^{er} jusqu'à la mort de Constantin en Mai 337.^{er}

En effet les pièces de Delmatius paraissent dans cette émission, où se rencontrent les dernières de Constantin Auguste.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont de deux sortes. Les plus grandes sont de l'espèce du Nummus Centenionalis ou denier de Constantin; les plus petites sont des demi-Centenionales,^{er} je décrirai d'abord les pièces les plus grandes.

Avec les exergues —	|	|
	SMALA	SMALB

On trouve—

L. *Au revers.—GLORIA EXERCITVS.* Et comme type, deux soldats debout, casqués, en habit militaire,

^{er} *Idat. in Fustis; Sti. Athanasi, contra Arianos, tom. I, Kaloupa ἀργόπευτες τρόπον γέμαλον δικραβίων.*

^{er} Eusèbe indique le jour de la Pentecôte, 22 Mai; Euseb., *Vita Constantini*, iv., 64.

^{er} J'avais, dans mes précédentes études, désigné cette espèce comme Centenionalis Communis, mais M. Babelon, dans le tome premier de son *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, pp. 612, 613, 614, ayant identifié la pièce désignée par O. Seeck comme denier de Constantin (*Die Monopolistik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger, Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xvii., p. 277 et sqq.) avec le Nummus Centenionalis des textes juridiques, a reconnu dans la plus petite pièce en question le demi-Centenionalis. Comme corollaire de ces dernières découvertes j'ajouterai que le Nummus Centenionalis a dû porter plusieurs noms et être désigné plus tard dans certains textes comme Denarius Communis (E. Babelon, loc. cit., pp. 611 et 612).

tenant chacun une haste, et appuyés sur leurs boucliers ; entre eux deux enseignes militaires.⁴⁴

Au droit. 1. — CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 254 ; FR. 14638-39 ; BR. MVS ; off. A—B.

Toutes les pièces de Constantin le Grand et des Césars qui présentent la légende *Gloria Exercitus* avec deux étendards au revers et sont du plus grand module (17 à 18 millimètres de diamètre), n'ont été frappées que dans deux officines, A—B ; tandis que les demi-Centenionales décrites plus loin ont commencé à être émises dans les même conditions, mais ont continué à l'être dans quatre officines après la mort de Constantin le Grand.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 122 ; FR. 15704-15705 ; 2 gr. 30 ; 17 à 18 m.m. ; BR. MVS. ; off. A—B.
3. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOR. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 104 ; FR. 16195-96 ; 3 gr. ; 18 m.m. ; BR. MVS. ; off. A—B. [PI. VI., No. 12.] .
4. FL. IVL. CONSTANS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 75 ; BR. MVS. ; off. A. [PI. VI., No. 14.]

⁴⁴ Les pièces de cette émission qui présentent deux enseignes militaires au revers sont toutes de la plus grande des deux variétés monétaires, c'est à dire de l'espèce du Centenionalis que j'ai désigné aussi comme denier Constantinien, mais il est impossible de ne pas remarquer que la même espèce avait un poids moyen supérieur dans les émissions précédentes à celui qu'elle présente au cours de cette émission. L'on peut dire que c'était une règle presque constante à cette époque que lorsqu'une espèce monétaire avait été émise un certain temps elle était réduite de poids, sans doute pour satisfaire aux besoins du trésor.

5. FL. DELMATICVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 12; FR. 15570; 2 gr. 75; 18 m.m.; BR. MVS.; off. A—B.

Des pièces de la même espèce monétaire présentant de 17 à 18 millimètres de diamètre furent frappées en même temps que les précédentes aux effigies de Rome et de Constantinople, tandis que l'on émettait également, ainsi qu'en verra plus loin, des pièces semblables comme types, mais environ de moitié plus légères. Ces deux sortes de monnaies continuèrent à paraître après la mort de Constantin.⁶⁵

On trouve—

- II. *Au revers*.—Sans légende, la Louve à gauche, allaitant Romulus et Rémus et les regardant; en haut deux étoiles.

Au droit.—VRBS ROMA. Buste de Rome à gauche, avec une aigrette sur le casque et le manteau impérial. Cohen, 17; BR. MVS.; 17 à 18 m.m.; off. A—B; coll. Gneechi. [Pl. VI., No. 13.]

- III. *Au revers*.—Sans légende. Victoire debout à gauche, posant le pied sur une proue de vaisseau, tenant un sceptre transversal et appuyé sur un bouclier.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Son buste à gauche portant le casque lauré et le manteau impérial et tenant un sceptre. Cohen, 21; BR. MVS.; off. A—B.

⁶⁵ L'on trouve dans les *Appunti di Numismatica Romana* de M. Gneechi (Milano, 1901) la description d'ensemble la plus complète de toutes les variétés de ces pièces de Rome. On y remarque les différents monétaires usités dans les divers ateliers. (*Rivista Ital. d. Numism.*, XIV., fasc. II., pl. III.). L'on y constate que la pièce décrite à dessus continua à être frappée dans quatre officines après la mort de Constantin le Grand.

Les pièces plus petites qui vont être décrites présentent des poids oscillant de 1 gramme 30 c. à 1 gramme 75 c. et des diamètres variant de 14 à 16 millimètres. Elles ont été déterminées par M. Babelon comme des demi-Centenionales, c'est à dire représentant la moitié du Centenionalis Communis.²⁶

IV. Avec la légende du revers GLORIA EXERCITVS on trouve le type suivant : Deux soldats debout, casqués, en habit militaire, tenant chacun une hache et appuyés sur leurs boucliers ; entre eux une seule enseigne militaire surmontée d'un drapeau.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 250 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 14604 ; off. A—B.

Les pièces pareilles qui portent les officines Γ—Δ sont postérieures à la mort de Constantin. La même réflexion s'applique aux pièces suivantes des Césars.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 714 ; BR. MVS. ; 15 m.m. ; off. A.
3. FL. IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Buste analogue. Cohen, 92 ; FR. 16142 ; BR. MVS. ; off. B. [Pl. VI., No. 15.]
4. FL. IVL CONSTANS NOB. C. Buste analogue.

Je n'ai pas rencontré cette pièce, qui correspond au No. 50 de Cohen, et ne peut pas manquer dans cette série.

5. FL. DELMATIVS NOB. C. Buste analogue. Cohen, 4 ; FR. 15556-57 ; 1 gr. 20 ; BR. MVS. ; off. A—B. [Pl. VI., No. 16.]

²⁶ E. Babelon, loc. cit., p. 613.

V. *Au revers.*—Sans légende avec le groupe déjà décrit de la Louve à gauche avec les deux jumeaux surmonté de deux étoiles, mais parfois l'on trouve les deux lettres S et R placées à droite et à gauche des étoiles, de plus comme différent monétaire un point à droite de l'exergue de sorte que l'on a
 S * * R

SMALA . — B

Au droit.—VRBS ROMA. Buste de Rome à gauche, casqué, avec une aigrette sur le casque et le manteau impérial.^{*} BR. MVS.; coll. Gnechi; 14 m.m. [Pl. VI., No. 17.]

VI. *Au revers.*—Sans légende, avec le type de Victoire déjà décrit pour le No. 21 de Cohen, mais en outre avec les lettres S R dans le champ du revers,
 c'est à dire avec S | R
SMALA . — B

Au droit.—CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Son buste à gauche portant le casque lauré et le manteau impérial et tenant un sceptre. Cohen, 22; BR. MVS.; coll. Gnechi; 14 m.m. [Pl. VI., No. 18.]

Il est difficile de lire sur un grand nombre de pièces les petites lettres S et R, aussi n'est-il pas sûr que l'on ne trouve pas quelquefois une autre lettre que R, notamment la lettre A. La lettre R s'expliquerait assez facilement comme la première de l'adjectif *Romanus-a-um*, la lettre S pour être la première d'un substantif tel que *Signum* ou l'adjectif *Signata* (en sous-entendant *Pecunia*).

* M. Gnechi dans ses *Appunti di Num. Romana*, 1891, pp. 9 et 13, a attribué avec raison ces petites pièces lorsqu'elles sont frappées dans quatre officines aux règnes des fils de Constantin.

ONZIÈME ÉMISSION.

Postérieure à la mort de Constantin le Grand en Mai 337.

J'ai indiqué dans mon étude sur l'atelier de Constantinople⁶⁸ la continuation de la frappe des monnaies des fils de Constantin désignés comme Césars, ainsi que de celles de Delmatius et d'Hannibalien pendant une période plus ou moins longue après la mort de Constantin le Grand; pour les fils de Constantin jusqu'au 9 Septembre 337, date à laquelle les Fastes d'Idace placent la nomination des nouveaux Augustes.⁶⁹ Il y eut une période d'interrègne qui suivit la mort de Constantin si bien qu'Eusèbe⁷⁰ put dire que cet empereur avait régné après sa mort, et cette période fut marquée par les assassinats successifs de plusieurs personnages impériaux: Constance, oncle des Césars, Delmatius, Hannibalien.⁷¹ À Alexandrie l'on trouve une émission de pièces des Césars frappées dans quatre officines, tandis qu'il n'y en avait eu que deux ouvertes à la fin du règne de Constantin. Cette émission comprend les pièces des trois Césars, Constantin II, Constance II et Constant I, jusqu'à ce qu'ils se fussent proclamés Auguste en Septembre 337 et à partir de cette date l'on trouve au contraire avec les monnaies des mêmes princes Augustes celles de Constantin le Grand désigné comme *Divus Pater Augustorum* tandis que de nouvelles

⁶⁸ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Constantinople*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1901, pp. 208, 209.

⁶⁹ *Idatii Fast.*, "Ipso anno (id est Feliciano et Titiano consa.) nuncupati sunt tres Augusti Constantinus et Constantius et Constans v Idus Sept."

⁷⁰ Euseb., *Vita Const.* iv., 17.

⁷¹ Zosim., *Hist.*, ii., 40; Eutrop., *Bret.*, x., 9; Hieronymi *Chron.*, u., 2354.

petites pièces (demi-Centenionales) de Constantinus Max. Aug., pareilles à celles de l'émission mais portant 4 lettres d'officines, sont frappées au nom de Constantin II.

L'on trouve donc avec—

SMALA	SMALB	SMALF	SMALD
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Au revers.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Avec le type décrit et un seul étandard entre les soldats.

Au droit. 1.—FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.²² Cohen, 92, déjà décrit ; FR. 16162 ; BR. MVS. ; 1 gr. 60 ; 17 m.m.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 114, déjà décrit.

3. FL. IVL. CONSTANS NOB. C. Cohen, 50, déjà décrit.

4. FL. IVL. DELMATIVS NOB. C. Cohen, 4, déjà décrit ; coll. Voetter ; pièce frappée probablement pendant une partie de l'interrégne seulement jusqu'à la mort de Dalmatius.

A partir du mois de Septembre 337, l'atelier émit dans ses quatre officines les pièces suivantes.

I. *Au revers.*—VN—MR. (Veneranda Memoria) dans le champ, et comme type une figure féminine, la Piété?, debout à droite, voilée et les mains enveloppées dans sa robe.

²² L'Atelier d'Alexandrie se trouvait dans l'état de Constance II, cf. Lenain de Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, tome iv., p. 317.

Au droit.—D. V. CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG. (Divus
Constantinus Pater Augustorum.) Buste de
Constantin le Grand voilé à droite. Cohen, 715;
FR. 15134-35-36; 1 gr. 65; 15 m.m.; BR.
MVS.; off. A—B—I—Δ. [PL. VI., No. 19.]

II. *Au revers.*—Sans légende. Constantin dans un quadriga
au galop à droite, tendant la main à une main
céleste.

Au droit.—D. V. CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG. Même
buste. Cohen, 760; FR. 15152-54-55-56; 1 gr.
65; 15 m.m.; BR. MVS.; off. A—B—I—Δ.

JULES MAURICE.

XL.

TREASURE-TROVE, ITS ANCIENT AND MODERN LAWS.¹

THE Ancient Greeks have not left us any records relating to treasure-trove.

The old Roman right leaves us to understand that a citizen who unearthed a treasure, even on ground which belonged to him, should hand it over to the *fiscus*.² This usage prevailed in the early centuries of the Empire; but the Emperors exercised their right in a more or less liberal manner.

When the Carthaginian Cœsellius Bassus acquainted the Emperor Nero of the existence of a supposed treasure of bars of gold, the latter ordered that ships should be provided to transport these riches to Rome, which according to report, then in circulation, had been amassed by Dido herself.³

¹ The first portion of this paper was published by M. Adrien Blanchet in the *Procès-Verbaux et Mémoires du Congrès International de Numismatique réunis à Paris en 1900*, under the title of *Les Lois Anciennes relatives à l'Invention des Trésors*. M. Blanchet has permitted me to give a translation of his very interesting article in the pages of the *Chronicle*, and I have supplemented it with an account of treasure-trove in England from the Anglo-Saxon period.

² On the subject of the *bona encantia* which belong to the city, see J. Marquardt, *De l'organ. financière chez les Romains*, trad. Vigie, 1888, p. 306.

³ Tacitus, *Ann.*, xvi., 1-3.

Nerva, with his accustomed liberal spirit, surrendered his rights to a treasure found by Atticus, the father of the Sophist Herod, on his own lands.⁴

Hadrian evidently realised the necessity of establishing some legislation on the subject of treasure-trove; and by the precision with which it is stamped, the text of Spartan seems to give the actual wording of the law, which was to the effect that at the beginning of the second century of our era, the private individual became the full proprietor of treasure discovered on his own land; if, however, the treasure was found on the land of another person, the half of it went to the proprietor of the land, the finder retaining the other half. The same division held good, if the find was made on lands belonging to the State.⁵

Severus Alexander was somewhat less generous; for whilst generally confirming to the finder the property of the treasure, an exception was made in the case of treasures of importance, which were to become the property of the State.⁶

An Eclogue of Calpurnius, who wrote under Carus and Carinus, leads us to infer that these Emperors abolished the vexatious rights claimed by their predecessors.⁷

Under Constantine the Great, the public treasury insisted on its rights; and a law of A.D. 315 granted to the finder one-half of the treasure, when duly announced to the *fiscus*. The same text provides that no enquiry shall follow, if such declaration be made in proper form.⁸

⁴ Zouaras, *Epit.*, I. xi., c. xx.; ed. Dindorf (Teubner), t. iii., p. 63.

⁵ Spartan, *Vita Hadriani*, 18. ⁶ Lampridius, *Alex. Ser.*, 46.

⁷ T. Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecloga* iv., v. 117.

⁸ Cod. Theod., I. x., t. xviii., l. i.

Gratian and Theodosius established in A.D. 380 a more liberal law, which was very similar to that of Hadrian. Under this law the finder became the owner of treasure when discovered on his own land ; if, however, the treasure was found on the land of another person, the proprietor of such land received a quarter of the treasure discovered. The same law made it illegal to dig on the land of another person, if the discovery of treasure was the only object in view.⁹

We may also call attention to the term *non metalli qualitas*, mentioned in the Theodosian code, which is important since we know that gold mines were the property of the Emperor. It was not until A.D. 365 that Valentinian granted to private individuals the right of working such mines ; but such right was subject to a heavy fine or royalty.¹⁰ We shall see later on that the nature of the metal affected the laws relating to the ownership of treasures.

In A.D. 390, Valentinian deemed it politic to confirm the free right to treasure-trove ;¹¹ but under Theodoric in the sixth century the *fiscus* laid a firm hand on all property of which the rightful owner could not be found.¹²

We will now pass on to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to ascertain the state of the law as to the proprietorship of treasure-trove.

In Normandy a statute, which arose out of an inquisition held about A.D. 1154, gives to the Duke all

⁹ *Cod. Theod.*, l. x., t. xviii., l. ii.

¹⁰ J. Marquardt, *De l'organ. financière chez les Romains*, trad. Vigée, 1888, pp. 326, 327 ; conf. J. Maurice, *Bull. Soc. Antiqu. France*, 1898, p. 151.

¹¹ *Cod. Theod.*, l. x., t. xviii., l. iii.

¹² Cassiodorus, *Variar.*, l. vi. 8, ed. Mommsen, 1894, p. 182 (*Mon. Germ. hist.*).

treasure of whatsoever kind.¹² Later, by another statute of about A.D. 1280, the Duke is authorised to make an inquisition about treasure, the discovery of which had been fraudulently concealed.¹³

The Decrees of St. Louis assign treasure-trove of gold to the King; but the Baron is to receive that of silver.¹⁴ We see, however, from various statutes that even under St. Louis this question of right is still obscure; for in A.D. 1224 the King claimed the right to the treasures of gold and silver, coined and uncoined, which had been found by monks of the Abbey of Cercanceau, on the Loire, near Château-Landon, in the diocese of Sens.¹⁵ On the other hand in the same diocese, in 1259, after a long dispute the position was clearly defined as to the right of the King to treasure-trove of gold and to that of silver; for in this instance the court decided that treasures of gold belonged to the King, but those of silver by ancient right were the property of the finder.¹⁶

In a mandate of Philip IV, dated 27th August, 1306, it is ordered that treasures without any distinction found on lands or in dwellings belonging to Jews shall be surrendered to the King.¹⁷

However the distinction between gold and silver is

¹² *Statuta et Consuetudines Normannie*, c. lxix. (*Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. J. Tardif, Rouen, 1881, t. i., 1^{re} partie, p. 64).

¹³ *Summa de Legibus in curia laicali*, c. xvii. (*Coutumiers de Normandie*, Rouen, 1806, t. ii., p. 49).

¹⁴ *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, ed. P. Viollet (Soc. Hist. de France), t. ii., pp. 152-154, l. i., c. xciv.

¹⁵ Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Soc. Hist. de France, t. i., p. 826.

¹⁶ *Olim*, ed. Beugnot, t. i., p. 452, xv.

¹⁷ *Ordonn.*, t. i., p. 443.

confirmed by various customs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,¹⁹ although some customary regulations of the fifteenth century, which in their nature are very similar to the customs of Touraine and Anjou, enact that the proprietary right of treasures is closely allied to jurisdictionary rights. In other words that finds of gold and silver belong to barons and other nobles when discovered on lands over which they have legal jurisdiction. In Anjou the rights of the King do not appear ever to have been established; for in the eleventh century no mention is made as to the ownership of a statue of gold weighing 100 livres, which had been found in a river.²⁰

In the duchy of Berry the rights of the King were subject to some restrictions, as they were not recognised in the case of isolated pieces, but only in cases of genuine treasure. It is a compromise which reminds us of the law of the Emperor Severus Alexander.

In the statutes which have been cited the rights of the finder appear to have been overlooked. But in the Middle Ages these also received some consideration; for a statute of the twelfth century divides in equal shares treasure-trove between the lord and the finder.²¹ In certain cases in the sixteenth century the treasure is divided into halves or thirds, the finder receiving his due share.²²

This custom is confirmed by an order of the Court of the 28th July, 1570, under the following terms: "The

¹⁹ Beantemps-Beaupré, *Cout. et Institut. de l'Anjou et du Maine*, 1^{re} part, t. i., pp. 889, 890.

²⁰ *Historia Sancti Florentii Samurrensis*, see Marchegay et Mabille, *Chronique des Eglises d'Anjou*, 1869, pp. 287, 288.

²¹ Th. Grasilier, *Cartul. inédits de la Saintonge*, Niort, 1871, t. ii., *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye royale de N.-D. de Saintes*, p. 52.

²² *Coutume de 1508*, art. 61.

treasure is to be divided into three parts, of which one shall be awarded to the finder, another to the proprietor of the land, and the third to the lord of the manor (*haut-justicier*), be he the King or anyone else; but if the proprietor of the land be himself the finder, the treasure shall then be divided into two parts, one of which shall be awarded to the proprietor, the other to the lord of the manor, in accordance with another order given by the Court of Appeal at Amiens."²³ This law was still further modified, and in the seventeenth century the rights of the finder and those of the proprietor of the land only were considered. For in the month of February, 1631, the Chambre de l'Edit of Grenoble gave judgment between the Prince of Orange, who was chief justiciary of the Seignory of Orpière, a mason named Damian, and the proprietor of an old building, in one of the walls of which Damian had found a pot full of gold coins. The order of the Court was to the effect that the mason should have half the treasure and the proprietor the other half; but no order was made to the demand formulated on behalf of the Prince of Orange.²⁴

Not less remarkable is the order delivered on the 31st January, 1641, by the Chambre de l'Edit for the Languedoc held at Castres. This order overruled the request of the King, made in his name by the agents of the *fiscus*, for a third of a treasure found in a wall under demolition, and gave one-half of it to the finder, and the

²³ A. Thomas-Latour, *Rec. de législ. et de jurisprudence*, 19^e année, 1853, t. i., pp. 278, 279. Cf. Papon, *Recueil d'arrests*, Lyon, 1556; *du trésor trouvé*, l. xiiii., t. 7.

²⁴ A. Thomas-Latour, *De l'invention des trésors cachés et du droit aux trésors trouvés*, 2^e *Rec. de législ. et de jurisprudence*, 18^e années, 1852, t. ii., p. 50.

other half to the proprietor of the wall. The order further added that this decision was arrived at under the Roman right established in the district of Castres, as also in the province of Languedoc.²⁵

In spite of these judgments, an attempt was made in the eighteenth century to restore the right of the Crown as laid down in the order of 1570, cited above. In 1725 the subject in question was a bronze vase filled with Roman coins of the third century A.D., which had been found at Gommegnies, near Le Quesnoy.²⁶ A précis of this case informs us that the comptroller general, in supporting the right claimed by the King, asked that "the common usage should be enforced, which divided treasure-trove into three parts, of which one should be awarded to the King, another to the finder, and the third to the proprietor of the estate on which the treasure was found."

But M. de Vastan, commissary of Hainault, was opposed to this view and cited Chapter 129 of the Custom of Hainault as follows: "If any artisan working for wages on the lands of another by chance finds a treasure, one-half of it belongs to him and the other half to the proprietor of the estate." It was therefore in the end arranged to pay for the 600 coins selected for the Cabinet of the King.²⁷

By Article 716 of the Civil Code, still in force, it is decreed "That the ownership of a treasure belongs to the finder, if discovered on his own land: if the treasure is found on the land of another person, one-half belongs to the finder, the other half to the proprietor of the land.

²⁵ A. Thomas-Latour, *ib.* p. 51.

²⁶ Arr. d'Avesnes, see Adrien Blanchet, *Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule*, 1900, p. 110, No. 14.

²⁷ *Archives du cabinet des Médailles*, Sept., 1725.

Treasure-trove includes anything hidden or buried, of which the owner is not known, and which has been discovered by pure chance."

The last paragraph of this article is wanting in precision and exactness, for one cannot pretend to say that in the case of excavations on a selected spot, and with an express purpose, the finding of a treasure or antiquities is a matter of "pure chance."²⁸

Practically the right of workmen employed in intentional excavations is not recognised; yet if one takes the text of Article 716 literally, "he who finds a treasure" can only mean he whose work leads to the discovery. In short, the law is not borrowed from the Code of Theodosius; but it is based on that of the Emperor Hadrian, the text of which has been preserved to us by Spartian. We have already seen that the decisions of 1631 and 1641 were delivered in the same spirit of equity.

A law of the 30th March, 1887, modifies to the advantage of the State the rights of the finder; for under it the State becomes full proprietor of every object found in its domain, minus an indemnity representing half its value, which goes to the finder. Another clause of the same Act empowers the minister to expropriate the whole or part of the land on which discoveries of treasure may have been made, in accordance with the provisions of the law of the 3rd May, 1841.

Such, in brief, has been the legislation in France relating to treasure-trove.

The sovereign right to treasure-trove appears to prevail

²⁸ Adrien Blanchet et Fr. de Villenoisy, *Guide pratique de l'Antiquaire*, 1899, p. 6.

in most of the other States of Europe. Grotius (*De Jure Belli et Pacis*, ch. viii. 7) says "the people of Germany gave treasure-trove, like other ownerless things, to the prince; and it is now the common law as a sort of *jus gentium*, for it is observed in Germany, France, England, Spain and Denmark; and that there is no wrong done has been sufficiently explained."

Without going into detail, we may mention that in Denmark, according to the law of Valdemar I,²² it is enacted that if anyone should find gold or silver in a field or on a hill or under his plough, it belongs to the King; and if he denies that he has found it, let him defend himself on oath before his kinsmen.

In Hungary the National Museum has the right of pre-emption, and every find, when it exceeds the value of 600 francs, is divided in equal parts between the finder or finders, the proprietor of the land, and the State.

In the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, as well as in Greece, the discovery of all finds must be immediately notified to the State. In the latter country all finds of antiquities belong to the State, but when found on private property half the value is awarded to the owner of the property. Informants of finds not of archaeological interest receive one-third their value whether claimed by the State or not. Of objects found in the sea half belongs to the finder, the other half goes to the *Caisse des Invalides de la Mer*.

In Italy the State possesses also the right of pre-emption, the application of which has greatly fostered the concealment of treasure-trove, as the proprietors are

²² L. II., c. 118, ed. Kolderup-Rosenvinge, 1887, p. 290.

wary of the small indemnity offered by the State. In mediæval times the law appears to have been different, at least at Padua; for in 1274 we learn "that a treasure of pure gold of the supposed value of more than 30,000 livres was found in the garden of the Hospice of the Domus Dei at Padua, which was unfairly divided between the finders, the Bishop, and the State and its officials; a fourth part being, however, reserved for the Hospital, but subject to the conditions that it should be devoted towards its repair."²⁰

Before proceeding to give a slight sketch of treasure-trove in England, it may be well to define the meaning of the term as understood at common law.

In a paper read before the Royal Archaeological Institute at its meeting at Chester in August, 1886,²¹ Judge Baylis gave the following definition of treasure-trove:—

1. The word "treasure," in connection with treasure-trove, is confined to *gold* or *silver* money, coins, plate, or bullion, *not* copper, lead, bronze, or other metals or things.
2. It must be found hidden in the earth or in the walls, beams, chimneys, or other secret places above the earth, but affixed to the soil. If found on the earth or in the sea, or *not hidden*, it is not treasure-trove.
3. When the owner thereof or his representatives cannot be ascertained.
4. Then, and then only, it belongs to the Crown or the grantees of the Crown.

Blackstone²² defines treasure-trove as follows:—"Treasure is where any money, coin, gold, silver, plate, or

²⁰ *Chron. Patav.*, S. A., 1274, ed. Muratori, t. iv., col. 1146.

²¹ *Journal of the Arch. Inst.*, 1886, vol. xliii., p. 342.

²² Ed. Stephen, 1893, vol. ii., p. 476.

bullion, is found hidden in the earth, or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown. And in such a case, the treasure found belongs to the Crown; but if he that hid it be known or afterwards found out, the owner, and not the Sovereign, is entitled to it. It is the hiding, and not the abandonment, that gives the King a property; for if a man scatters his treasure into the sea or upon the surface of the earth, it belongs not to the Sovereign, but to the first finder. Formerly, indeed, treasure-trove, whether hidden, lost, or abandoned, belonged to the finder; but afterwards it was judged expedient, for the purposes of the State, and particularly for the coinstage, to allow part of what was so found to the King—which part was assigned to be all *hidden* treasure, as distinguished from such as was either casually lost or designedly abandoned by the former owner."

We have here a pretty clear definition of the word treasure-trove and its application at law. Blackstone is specially emphatic in laying down the principle, that there must have been a manifest intention on the part of the owner to hide his treasure. It was not a mere burial; it was a hiding with the intention of returning at some future time to recover the treasure. This hiding of treasure must not be confused with the burial of objects in the case of ancient interments of human remains. In such cases the owner deposited his treasure with quite other motives. He never intended to return and unearth it; but it was to remain with the body for all times, either for use in the other world or for payment to the shades for the transport of the spirit of the departed one. Such cases do not, therefore, come within the term treasure-trove as understood by law.

Likewise the discovery of a single object such as a coin

or a ring, which must in all probability have been lost or casually dropped and not hidden, cannot properly be regarded as treasure-trove. An instance of this nature occurred in 1891, when a labourer, whilst hoeing in a field in Hertfordshire, struck his hoe into a lump of clay which revealed a gold ring.²³ Though there was nothing else except the gold ring there, and no other object of antiquity in the neighbourhood, the Treasury claimed the ring as treasure-trove and retained it; but the Society of Antiquaries, not coinciding in this view, submitted the case for counsel's opinion, asking to be advised whether a ring found in such circumstances could be considered treasure-trove. The case was submitted to Mr. R. B. Finlay (now Sir Robert B. Finlay, the Attorney-General) and Mr. George H. Blakealy, who held "that the ring could not under the circumstances be rightly called treasure-trove; because it did not appear to have been placed where it was found by any person desirous of hiding it; that according to the authorities there must be presumptive evidence of hiding in order to bring an object under the claim of the Crown as treasure-trove; that as there was nothing of this kind in the present case, the Crown has no claim under the doctrine of treasure-trove."

In discussing the question of the origin of the English Common Law of Treasure-Trove, Professor E. C. Clark²⁴ is of opinion that there is little or no direct trace of a Roman original. The claim for the Crown would seem rather to be derived from some such *federal* doctrine as that of ultimate ownership of land being vested in the

²³ See *Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries*, Second Series, vol. xiv., 1891-1893, pp. 220-222.

²⁴ *Journal of the Arch. Inst.*, 1886, vol. xlvi., p. 852.

Lord Paramount. Such a doctrine is not of Italian growth, but much more Teutonic in character. In Anglo-Saxon times the right of the Crown or Lord Paramount appears never to have been questioned, and unless specially granted by charter the King has always been held to be entitled to treasure from under the earth; and no so-called customary rights have ever interfered with the royal prerogative in this respect in England.

Kemble²² represents the Anglo-Saxon Sovereigns as claiming to themselves all treasure-trove, and supports his statement by charters, in which the right to "hoards whether above or within the earth" are occasionally granted away.

From the Laws and Institutions of England under Edward the Confessor, ch. xiv. (ed. Thorpe), we learn "Treasures from the earth belong to the King unless they are found in a church or place of burial. And if they are found there then the gold belongs to the King; but if of silver, then half goes to the King and the other half to the Church, where it was found, whether it be rich or poor."

In ch. xxiv. of the same laws we have another one relating to "findings," *De Inventacionibus*. This law enacts "that if any man should lead or bring into the town (villa) an animal or any money, which he says he has found, before he shall take it to his own house or to that of another he shall go to the church and shall make the priest come from the church and the prefect and the chief men of the town, and when they are assembled he shall show them what he has found. The prefect shall then send round to the four neighbouring

²² *Saxons in England*, b. 2, ch. 2.

towns and shall acquaint the priests and chief men of the find. After this the prefect in whose district the finder is shall guard the treasure till the morrow, and on the next day with his neighbours who have seen the treasure he shall go to the prefect of the hundred and shall show it to him. And if the lord of the manor on whose land it was found has not his customs, forsooth *soc* and *sac*, he shall surrender it up to the prefect of the hundred, if he should desire to have it. But if he has his customs then let him hold to his rights."

In these two laws there is a distinct difference drawn between what is found *in* the earth, and what is found *on* the earth. In the former case the property or treasure belongs to the Crown: but no question of such a right is made in the latter case, but in the place of the Crown the lord of the manor appears to be the rightful owner.

Under Henry I, ch. x, it is laid down that one of the rights of the King is *thesaurus inventus*.

A most interesting instance of the King having surrendered his right to treasure-trove is to be found in the Charter of Henry II to the Monastery of Ramsey, by which the latter was "to receive *sac* and *soc* (the right of holding a court), *thol* and *thteam* (market and the issue of the bondsmen), *forstal* (the intercepting on the highway), *blodwith* (a fine paid as a compensation for bloodshed), and the finding of treasure; and likewise all other privileges which belong to the King."

The right of the Crown to treasure-trove is enforced by the Statute of 4th Edward I (1275-6), which enacts that "a coroner being certified by the King's bailiffs or other honest men of the county shall go to the place where treasure is said to be found; that he shall enquire, who were the finders and likewise who is suspected thereof, and

that they be well perceived when one liveth riotously, haunting taverns, and hath done so of long time; hereupon he may be attached for this suspicion by four, five or six more pledges if he can be found; and how many soever be found culpable by inquisition in manner aforesaid, they shall be taken and delivered to the sheriff and shall be committed to gaol."

We have in this law a curious method as to how justice is to be arrived at. The law evidently supposes that anyone, who may have discovered a treasure, has not the force of mind to use discretion and to conceal his good fortune, but must of necessity act as a witness against himself by haunting taverns and by giving way to intemperance.

This Act of Edward I has been recently confirmed by the Coroner's Act of 1887 (sec. 36), which provides that "a coroner shall continue as heretofore to have jurisdiction to enquire of treasure that is found, who were the finders and who is suspected thereof."

In the well-known recent case (16th October, 1891) of the Attorney General v. Moore, respecting some gold cups, a chalice, two pyxes and a paten found at Stoke Prior in Herefordshire, it was ruled that "the jurisdiction of the coroner with reference to treasure-trove is limited to an inquiry, who were the finders and who is suspected thereof. He has no jurisdiction to inquire into any question of title to the treasure as between the Crown and any other claimants, the title to all treasure-trove being independent of any finding of the coroner's jury."

In his judgment, Mr. Justice Stirling said, "*Prima facie* the title of treasure-trove is in the Crown; but no doubt that title may be displaced by producing a grant to a subject of the franchise of treasure-trove, but the

question between the Crown and the subject must be decided by an interpretation of the grant, and I cannot conceive that it is possible that this title can be decided either by the coroner or by the verdict of the coroner's jury; the coroner's jurisdiction is limited to an inquiry who were the finders, and who were suspected thereof."

The law has thus clearly defined the duties of the coroner in respect of treasure-trove, and thus one of the initial difficulties connected with a preliminary inquiry has been removed.

There is abundant evidence to show that unless by special grant the Crown has never surrendered or abandoned its right to treasure-trove. In proof of this we find in the State Papers published by the Rolls Office many instances of permission granted by the Crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to dig for treasure under certain conditions. Of these we may mention the following.

In 1595 licence was given to Sir William Russell and three others to dig and search for hidden treasure in the counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester, for two years and to enjoy all they found, provided they gave notice to two justices of the peace before digging anywhere.

In 1621 a special commission was granted to Richard Ryves and others to dig for treasure supposed to be in certain parts of a down in the parish of Upway, co. Dorset.

In 1624, David Ramsay received a grant of the benefit of the King's interest in any treasure-trove discovered by him in two places in Essex.

In 1625, on the petition of Thomas Eliot, Matthew Cawthrop and Abraham Campion, permission was granted to dig in the churchyard and lands belonging to the

ancient monastery of St. Alvans for treasure; on the understanding that one-third has to go to the King, one-third for repairing the church and the remainder to the petitioners.

These are but a few isolated instances of the Crown exercising its right to treasure-trove, which have been gathered from a cursory glance at the State Papers. A closer and more minute search would no doubt furnish us with a continuous chain of evidence to much more recent times.

One other instance of an apparent surrender of its right by the Crown has recently come before the public and is still *sub judice*. It is the case of the gold ornaments lately found in Ireland; the circumstances connected with which appear to be as follows:

About four years ago some ancient gold Celtic ornaments were found in the North-west of Ireland in the neighbourhood of Limavady. These shortly after their discovery came into the possession of a jeweller at Belfast, who disposed of them to a private individual, who in his turn sold them to the British Museum. Some time after the purchase was completed by the British Museum, the Irish authorities, who all along appear to have known of the find, claimed the objects as treasure-trove and demanded them for the Dublin Museum; the matter came before the House of Commons and a Committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the case. As the Trustees of the British Museum still retained the ornaments their right to do so was questioned in the House of Commons, 15th June, 1900, and the First Lord of the Treasury replied that the Law Officers both of England and Ireland had decided that these ornaments were treasure-trove and belonged to the Crown, and that the Trustees were wrong in retaining them. Shortly afterwards it

was elicited that the land on which the objects were discovered was granted to the Irish Society, which was incorporated by Charter of James I, for colonising and establishing a settlement on lands which had been forfeited to the Crown towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth. This Charter was regranted by Charles II, and Mr. Gerald Balfour, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, 6th August, 1900, stated that it had been ascertained that the words of the patent granted by Charles II to the Irish Society are large enough to vest in the Society the right to treasure-trove. If Mr. Gerald Balfour's opinion holds good, then we have here another instance of the King surrendering his prerogative to treasure-trove. But the case is not settled, as the First Lord of the Treasury again, on the 30th July, 1901, asserted the right of the Crown to the ornaments as treasure-trove. So it will be left to the judges to decide what interpretation is to be put on the clauses of the Charter which affect the question.

The law which gives a right usually provides the means of enforcing it. The punishment, therefore, of such persons as concealed from the King the finding of hidden treasure was formerly no less than death; but now its concealment is misprision of felony; and those guilty are liable to fine and imprisonment. This applies not only to the actual finder, but also to those who aid and abet in the concealment. This last point was decided in the case of *Reg. v. Siles Thomas and Stephen Willett*,²⁴ in which it was shown that the defendants had "unlawfully, willingly and knowingly," concealed treasure-trove consisting of gold ornaments, which had been ploughed up

* See Leigh and Cave, *Crown Cases Reserved*, vol. i., p. 318.

by a labourer in a field in the parish of Mountfield, Sussex. In a subsequent case tried in Dublin in 1867, Reg. v. Toole, the prisoner was found guilty of concealing some silver coins, which he had discovered near Bootertown, in the county of Dublin; and in this case the court further decided that in an indictment for concealing treasure-trove it is not necessary to state any inquisition before the coroner as to the title of the Crown.

Such, then, is an outline of the custom and law of treasure-trove in England: but the enforcement of the right of the Crown has always been fraught with much difficulty, chiefly owing to the fact that till recent years no reward or fixed remuneration was held out to the finder. He had therefore no encouragement to be honest, and in consequence very few objects in the precious metals escaped the melting-pot. In the case of objects other than coins, some of which could have been returned to the finder, the remuneration given could only be in money; and so far as it can be ascertained no official payment of such a nature had ever occurred. With coins the case was somewhat different: when they were secured by the Treasury they were sent to the British Museum for examination and selection. Those required were paid for at the market value, but those not required were returned to the Treasury, which made some sort of distribution to various societies, &c.; but it is pretty certain that the finder fared rather badly and only occasionally may have received by way of grant a part of the find. The effect was that only in the instance of large finds, that got bruited abroad, did the Treasury have any cognizance of their discovery; the smaller ones passing into private hands unrecorded or into the melting-pot.

In 1860 Lord Talbot de Malahide drew the attention

of the Treasury to the constant loss of treasure-trove owing to the fact of the uncertainty of the finder obtaining any payment or reward, and as a slight step in the right direction the Treasury ordered that in future the metal value should be paid for all treasure-trove ; but as this order did not become generally known, the Home Office, in 1871, issued the following notice to the police.²⁷

WHITEHALL, 11th July, 1871.

SIR,—The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury being desirous of giving greater publicity to their practice of paying on behalf of the Crown to the finder of coins and antiquities coming under the description of "Treasure-Trove" the full bullion value thereof, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Bruce to request that you will take such measures as you may think best calculated to make the same generally known within your jurisdiction and more especially to pawnbrokers and other similar dealers.

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) A. F. O. LINDELL.

It need scarcely be said that such a notice had little if any good effect ; for by it the finder reaped no substantial advantage. By melting down his treasure he obtained just as much as if he surrendered it to the public officers ; but if he could meet with a purchaser, he would ask more than the metal value and could easily get it : and in most cases he took the risk and was rarely found out. The result of this order was therefore practically *nil* : and it was only when a find got generally known that the police were able to put their hands on it.

²⁷ This notice is given in full, as I believe it has never been published, but only issued privately.

In 1886 the discovery of a hoard of gold coins of Henry VI-VIII at Park Street, St. Albans, was the means of bringing about a further improvement in the conditions of recompense to finders of treasure-trove, and this improvement was mainly due to the strenuous efforts made by our President, Sir John Evans. On that occasion our President pointed out to the Treasury that the system hitherto adopted of giving the finders merely the intrinsic value of coins retained, whilst the Treasury received from the Trustees of the British Museum and other public institutions the archaeological or numismatic value of the coins, was a very injurious and unfair one; and he strongly urged that more liberal terms should be offered. His efforts were successful, for the Treasury within a few weeks passed a minute, which was embodied in a letter circulated by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in the usual manner to the Police.

The substance of this circular is as follows: "The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury being desirous to render as effective as possible the assistance which is given to the efforts of antiquarian societies for the preservation of objects of general interest, by the assertion of the claim of the Crown to coins and antiquities coming under the description of treasure-trove, have reconsidered that practice, as intimated to you in the circular of July 11, 1871, of paying to the finder of articles of treasure-trove on behalf of the Crown the full bullion-value of such articles.

"Their Lordships, with a view to encourage the finders of coins and ornaments to notify the fact of their discovery to the Government, are ready to modify their existing regulations, and to return to the finders, who fully and promptly report their discoveries and hand over the same

to the authorities, the coins and objects which are not actually required for National Institutions, and the sums received from such Institutions as the *antiquarian* value of such of the coins or objects as are retained and sold to them, subject to the deduction of a percentage at the rate, either :—

“1. Of 20 per cent. from the antiquarian value of the coins or objects returned; or—

“2. A sum of 10 per cent. from the value of all the objects discovered, as may hereafter be determined.

“This arrangement is tentative in character, and the complete right of the Crown, as established by law, to all articles of treasure-trove is preserved.”

If one takes into consideration the long-established absolute right of the Crown to treasure-trove, this last order is on the whole a fairly liberal one; but it would no doubt have been still more satisfactory if no deduction at all on the value were made, so as to allow the finder to receive the full *antiquarian* value straight away. But even with this deduction of percentage the finder is much better off if he declares his discovery than if he attempts to dispose of his treasure privately; for in the instance of treasure-trove in coins the procedure is as follows.

As soon as the coins are received at the Treasury they are forwarded to the British Museum, where they are carefully classified. A selection is then made of such specimens as are required for the National Collection, and their market value noted and paid. The remainder are separately valued on the same principle, and returned to the Treasury, which deals with them in accordance with their order. The finder alone gets any money payment; but in cases where a large number of ordinary coins have been found, presents are made not only to the owner

of the land on which the discovery has been made, if he is forward in helping to report the find, but also to other persons interested, and to local museums. This last arrangement seems a fair one; for it is only right that the proprietor of the land on which the coins have been discovered, though not actually the finder, should have some share of them. It is also strictly in accordance with ancient custom, as we have seen.

It must be borne in mind that the principal object which the authorities of the British Museum have in view is not entirely the acquisition of the coins for the National Collection, but the numismatic information which can be gleaned from the hoards themselves; and there is scarcely any find, however small, that does not add something to our numismatic knowledge. It is mainly from the evidence of finds that we have been able to classify the English coinage chronologically within the reigns; and besides that, they often supply historical information outside that of the coinage. It would have been impossible for our President to have classified the ancient British coins in such a satisfactory and successful manner if he had not been able to note the find-spot of nearly every coin that came within his knowledge. Not only has he thus been able to show the extent of the dominions of the various British chiefs, and also their apparent dates, but he has often been able to foretell that such and such coins, though not then known to him, may have been issued, and in many instances his prophecy has proved perfectly correct.

A recent find of Anglo-Saxon coins,²⁸ which was obtained by the British Museum in its entirety, has not only re-

* *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 18.

vealed to us the monetary, but also the precise political position of Kent, Mercia, Wessex, and East Anglia, from the reign of Offa of Mercia to that of Aethelwulf of Wessex, a most important period of our history, as it marked the beginning of the extension of the power of Wessex, which was soon destined to overlord all the other states.

Again, as recently as 1897, the discovery of the Balcombe hoard³⁹ has enabled us in a great measure to settle the long much-vexed question of the classification of the pennies of Edward I, II, and III. And it may be added that the chronological sequence of the Republican coinage of Rome is almost entirely based on the evidence of finds.

Coins are also of the highest importance in determining the age of other objects found with them. The recent find of coins of Cartimandua⁴⁰ gave a date to certain ornaments, fibulae, box, &c., discovered with them; and the same occurred with rings found last year with gold coins of Diocletian and Maximian at Sully Moor, near Cardiff.⁴¹ Without this evidence it would have been difficult to decide whether in the latter case the rings were of the second or third century; but the coins enabled us to put their manufacture within the space of a very few years.

These are some of the advantages which accrue from the law, as at present administered, of treasure-trove: and it is very evident that the right of the Crown should never be surrendered. A great deal has been said and written about the claims of the owners of the soil in whose lands valuable and interesting objects have been unearthed, but experience has taught us that

³⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 8.

⁴⁰ *Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 298.

⁴¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 27.

in most cases where the law of treasure-trove does not operate—i.e. with objects not of precious metal—no record of finds has been made, and in consequence much history and archaeological information has been lost. Objects which thus pass direct into private hands are seldom available for scientific study. We doubt much, too, if under such circumstances the finders would obtain from the landlord anything like the favourable terms which are now offered by the Treasury. With local museums the case is very different ; but a difficulty would always arise in procuring funds to meet the requirements of the Treasury. The central position of our National Museums, and the fact that objects placed there are always accessible for reference and study, render their claims to treasure-trove paramount to those of any other similar institutions.

The inducement held out by the Treasury has, however, not proved so effectual as might have been expected, and in reply to a question asked by Judge Baylis on the point of the working of the recent order Sir Francis Mowat replied, "The circular of the Treasury of 1886 does not seem to have had very good effects, as many hoards are discovered without being reported, and that means that coins and objects of interest are thus lost to the National Collection. This would be avoided if finds were reported to the Treasury by individual members of Archaeological Associations."

This is a very good suggestion and one which we, as members of the Numismatic Society, should bear in mind ; not, however, with the sole idea, as Sir Francis Mowat puts it, of enriching the National Collection, but also with a view of advancing the science of numismatics and archaeology in general.

A few words may be added about treasure-trove in

Scotland and Ireland. From a private memorandum of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1892-3, it appears that in Scotland, down to year 1859, the Crown exercised its claims to treasure-trove without compensating the finders except in an uncertain way, such finders as were "in circumstances to require" rewards. The result was that very few objects in the precious metals escaped the melting-pot. But in that year the Crown proclaimed that in future the "actual value" or "intrinsic value" of treasure-trove should be given to the finders. Much difference of opinion existed as to the interpretation of the term "intrinsic value"; but the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, to whom is entrusted the enforcement of the law of treasure-trove, decided in 1859 that "actual value" and "intrinsic value" are used as synonymous terms, and it is the fact that in compensating finders the Crown authorities have adopted a wider signification and have awarded a fair value, which is generally determined by the Keeper of the National Museum.

As in England, this arrangement in Scotland does not seem to have worked satisfactorily, first because the Queen's Remembrancers, in the absence of guidance from legal decisions, held different views as to the rights of the Crown; secondly because finders and landed proprietors are ignorant of the law; thirdly because of local objections to the removal of finds away from localities to the National Museum; and lastly on account of dishonesty in concealing finds.

The disposal of treasure-trove in Ireland is in the absolute discretion of the Treasury, acting on behalf of the Crown; but for many years it has delegated the whole responsibility in connection therewith to the Royal Irish

Academy. One hundred pounds is annually provided by Parliament for rewards to discoverers of treasure-trove ; and this sum can be accumulated from year to year. The Academy posts notices in the Constabulary barracks and other places throughout Ireland, informing the public that payments for such articles higher than those which could be obtained from dealers, will be awarded to finders of them if delivered up to the police. The Royal Irish Academy has thus the refusal of all treasure-trove.

The law in France of 1887, mentioned above, has been fraught with similar results to the regulations in England and Scotland, the effects of which Mr. Blanchet thus sums up at the end of his paper : "It was the aim of the legislature that these new regulations should be the means of saving interesting monuments ; but it seems that this law will restrict the rights of private individuals. Already in the country districts the cultivator of the soil is inclined to resent the interference of the State with his personal affairs ; and I do not fear contradiction when I state that numerous finds of coins, jewellery, or other small objects of antiquity have been dispersed and even melted down before being studied, and that because the finder imagines that the State has an absolute right over all finds. This feeling is probably the result of the influence of the various customs in France which have been enumerated above.

"For numismatics in particular it is of the highest importance that the treasures should be preserved in their entirety and also that their *provenance* should be known."

A. BLANCHET.

H. A. GRUBER.

Note.—Since this Article has been in print Sig. Francesco Guocchi, of Milan, has kindly sent me a copy of the Act of

21 March, 1902, relating to the "Preservation of Monuments and Objects of Antiquity and Art" in Italy. Articles 14 and 16 of this Act provide (1) that any foreign institution or foreigners carrying out excavations with the consent of the Government shall surrender gratuitously to some public collection within the kingdom all objects discovered; (2) that in all other cases the Government shall have a right to one-fourth part of the objects found or their equivalent in value; and (3) that in the case of excavations carried out by the Government on private property, the proprietor of the land shall receive one-fourth part of the objects found or their equivalent in value, and the Government shall take all the remainder.—H. A. G.

XII.

SOME REMARKS ON THE LAST SILVER COINAGE OF EDWARD III.

(See Plate VII.)

THE several coinages of Edward III have already been so fully and ably dealt with that it is with diffidence that I offer any further remarks upon the subject. I venture, however, to think that as the latest coinage of this reign had, until comparatively recently, been almost unnoticed, there may still remain something further to be said about it, and I hope to be able to add a few varieties to the specimens which have been already described.

In the treaty of peace with King John of France which was ratified in October, 1360, Edward renounced all claim to the Crown of that kingdom, and the title of King of France was omitted upon his coins until the year 1369, when he resumed his claim owing to the alleged breaking of the treaty by Charles, the then reigning monarch. According to Ruding, the seals on which the title had been omitted were now called in, and others ordered to be made on which it should be re-inserted. The same alteration was no doubt ordered to be made upon the coins, although apparently no records exist to that effect. There appears, however, to have been a short period of transition during which the makers of the dies—perhaps



1

2

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4



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for want of definite instructions—seem to have been in a state of some uncertainty as to the correct style of the King, which on the coins of this period passes through several phases, until it finally settles down to the ordinary legend (for the groats) of REX · ANGL · Z · FRANC · or FRAR(II)I, which, with certain other characteristics, is now generally recognised as marking the period 1369-77. It is to this transitional period that I shall mainly devote my remarks, as the principal coins I have to describe belong to it, and with one exception have not, I believe, been previously referred to.

Although the very rare groat and half-groat with annulets terminating two points of the tressure on either side of the King's head have characteristics which clearly place them quite at the end of the period preceding the rupture of the treaty of Bretigny, still they appear to be quite within that period. They are, however, closely connected with some groats of the earliest part of the last period in the spelling of HIB with an I instead of a Y,¹ as is the case on all the previous varieties of the groats and half-groats of this reign, and in this respect they lead up to the coins to which I have alluded, and which comprise a small group of three groats, each of which, although apparently unique and differing from the others in important details, is united to them by characteristics and details which all have in common.

The first to be mentioned is the one in the National Collection, and described by Hawkins as being the only one known to him of the period 1369-77. As it bears so

¹ Although the Irish title was discontinued on the silver coins at this period, it was retained upon the gold ones, and HIB is spelled with an I instead of Y until the reign of Henry V, when the latter form was again reverted to.

closely on the other two of my list I will describe it here:—

Obv..—**EDWARD · DI · G · REX · ANGL · Z · F · DRS · HIB · Z · π**

Rev..—**POSVI DVM · ADIVTORVM · MVM · CIVITAS · LONDONI**

The stops throughout on both sides are saltires. It is shown on Pl. VII., 2.

The King's head on this and the two following coins is of quite a different character from that of the previous periods. The face is longer and the neck more slender, giving the bust a taller appearance, while generally the work is neater and superior in character to most of the previous coins. In addition I would specially draw attention to what I believe to be a hitherto unnoticed feature, and one which adds another proof to the contention that the bust of Edward III on most of his coins was intended to be represented as clothed. In all three of the coins now described the lower part of the King's bust is encircled by the border of a tight-fitting garment with rings or annulets around it—I suggest that this most probably indicates the hauberk or tunic of chain mail worn in battle under the surcoat at this period.

The second coin to which I would draw attention is in my own cabinet. On the obverse it reads **EDWARD · DI · G · REX · ANGL · Z · F · DRS · HIB · Z · π**. On the reverse **POSVI DVM · ADIVTORVM · MVM · CIVITAS · LONDONI**. It will be noticed that this great differs from the preceding one in having double annulets as stops in lieu of saltires in the outer reverse inscription, otherwise it is the same—see Pl. VII., 1.

The third coin is in the British Museum collection. It has all the special characteristics of the last two described, but with the exception that hIB is spelt with an I, and that it has English R's in obverse legend, it reads similarly to the groats of the 1351-60 period, $+EDW\text{R}D\text{S} \times \text{DI} \times \text{G} \times \text{R}\text{X} \times \text{R}\text{NGL} \times \text{E} \times \text{FR\text{R}D\text{U}} \times \text{D} \times \text{hIB}$. The reverse inscription is the same as that of the last coin, and the stops on both sides are double saltires (see Pl. VII., 3). It is also to be noted that all three coins have the final M in $\text{M\text{H}V\text{R}}$, which is very uncommon, although it occurs occasionally on the groats of the last period (see Pl. VII., 4). This final M is also found on a very few of the first groats of the earliest period, and on one of the treaty period, but in this instance the D in $\text{ADIVTOR\text{H}R}$ has been omitted—probably by accident—and the last M has been put to fill up the space. I have only seen two specimens of this coin.

These coins appear to indicate in several ways that they belong to a very early issue subsequent to the treaty period, and one which, from the great rarity of these types (each variety of which appears, so far, to be unique), must have been in use only for a very short time. It will be remarked that all three of the groats described have what I suggest to be the hauberk showing round the neck, and are of the same style of work, but while the two first have the Aquitaine title in addition to the French and Irish ones, the third omits the first, while retaining the last. The groat from the Balcombe find, Pl. VII., 4, while being of the same character of work, omits the Irish title, but like the three previous groats retains the final M in the reverse legend, which does not subsequently appear in this reign. The other known groats of this period have been already described in the *Nomismatic Chronicle*, ser. iii.,

vol. xiii and vol. xviii, and I have no further varieties to bring forward.

Of the half-groats of this period I have little to add to what has been written by Mr. Grueber and Mr. Lawrence. I can, however, give one variety not mentioned by them which reads EDWARD' · REX · ANGL' · Z · FR · R · I (see Pl. VII., 7) instead of EDWARDVS, the usual reading. There is a specimen of this variety in the British Museum and I myself have another.

The half-groat which reads EDWARD DI BRIT ANGL.
Z FR, believed to be unique up to the time the paper on the Balcombe find was written, is now known not to be so, several others having since been noticed, one of which, a very poor specimen, is in my own cabinet.

In connection with the very rare half-groat having annulets at sides of crown and the Lombardic R in London, I think it interesting to note that all the known specimens appear to be from the same dies. All that I have seen, including three in the British Museum, one in the Lawrence collection, and one in my own, show a curious blurred defect across the nose which appears to be identical in every case. These half-groats, like the corresponding groats, are presumably of the period just preceding the rupture of the treaty of Bretigny, although on the principle that all silver coins with saltire stops on both sides belong to the last period, these should be included in it. I would, however, suggest that the character of the stops is a very uncertain means of dividing the last two periods of the silver coinage of this reign. I have myself a groat and half-groat of Edward III with saltire stops on both the obverse and reverse, but which otherwise have all the characteristics of the 1360-69 period, particularly the peculiar letter X specially iden-

tified with this period. Mr. Lawrence has a groat with the same peculiarities. These coins are, however, the only ones that I have seen of the type of the 1360-69 period with saltire stops on both sides, and they must be very rare. They are probably but shortly removed from the last period. The half-groats have also the mark of contraction over the final N in London, which is, I believe, always found on the last silver coinage. Having touched upon the question of the stops, I would venture to suggest that although in a general way the annulet stops are associated with the two earlier periods of Edward III's coinage, and the saltires on both sides with the last period, still they are by no means a certain guide. In support of this view I confidently refer to the groat previously described with both French and Aquitaine titles and which has annulet stops on the reverse, although from its legend it is undoubtedly of the last period. The groats and half-groats to which I have alluded with saltire stops on both sides, but corresponding in all other respects with those of the period 1360-69, confirm, I think, my contention, and we may also recall in passing that there are a few groats of the first period, 1351-60, which have saltire stops on one or both sides; they are, however, confined to a few of one single variety having dots on either side of π in Civitas. What appears to me a much more certain characteristic and one which I would submit for consideration, is to be found in the peculiar and special character of the letter Z in connection with the titles of the King. This will be found upon even slight examination to be entirely different from the same letter on both the previous coinages of Edward III and on the subsequent one of Richard II. On coins of the period in question it is invariably thus  On previous

issues it is thus $\overline{\mathbb{X}}$ or thus \mathbb{J} . This last form being reverted to on the coinage of Richard II.

If the principle which I now suggest be accepted for identifying coins of the last period of Edward III, several pieces would be included which, on account of annulet or pellet stops, have been assigned to the previous one, although their inscriptions would indicate the position which my theory gives to them. In this connection I would call attention to a York penny reading EDWARD' REX & ANGL' E S FR. One of this type was in the Balcombe find, and apparently on account of its stops was assigned to the 1360-69 period notwithstanding its inscription. I have also a specimen, and the peculiar Z is very distinct, while the X in RX is not of the character identified with the treaty period.

In the list of coins in the Balcombe find, the Durham penny of the last period is stated to have a lis or a quatrefoil on the breast. I have two which show the lis very clearly. It resembles exactly the similar object always found on the very rare Durham pennies of Richard II, and would thus seem to show that these pennies are quite the latest of the Durham coins of Edward III.

The pennies of the latest period of this reign have been so fully described in vols. xiii and xviii, Third Series, of the *Namismatic Chronicle* before referred to, that I have little to add. There is in the British Museum collection a penny of the last period reading EDWARD * REX * ANGL * E * FRANC * with a pellet on the breast, which has not, I think, been previously noticed, and there is also another remarkable London penny different from any that I have seen and which must be of quite the last type issued. The head is exactly that of Richard II with smaller face and more bushy hair than on the other late pennies. It

reads EDWARDVS REX ANGLIE and there is a quatrefoil on the breast. The N's in London are Roman.

In regard to halfpence and farthings there is in the British Museum one of each of a type so like the Durham penny No. 313 in Hawkins, which is undoubtedly of the last period, that I should put them in the same place. The special characteristic is a tall bust with small head and long thin neck. The only stop on the halfpenny is an annulet.

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

1. Groat with the four titles, with annulet stops in rev. legend. In my own collection.
2. Groat with the four titles, with saltire stops both sides. In B. M.; described by Hawkins.
3. Groat of same character, but with only English, French, and Irish titles. In B. M. collection.
4. Groat of very similar character, but with only English and French titles. Like the three previous groats it has the unusual final Σ in $\Sigma\mathcal{H}\mathcal{V}\Sigma$ in the rev. legend. In B. M., from Balcombe find.
5. Half-groat of similar character to those of the period 1360-69, but with saltire stops on both sides. In B. M. collection.
6. Half-groat as last, but reading EDWARD. In B. M.
7. Half-groat of the most usual type of the period 1369-77.
8. York penny with annulet stops, but with peculiar \mathbb{E} associated with last period.
9. Durham penny of latest type, with lis on breast.
10. London penny of latest type, with quatrefoil on breast, closely resembling the bust of Richard II. In B. M.

MISCELLANEA.

CORRECTION—SOME PONTIC ERAS.—A mistake has crept into my recent paper on “Some Pontic Eras,” in the last number of this *Chronicle*. Speaking of the era of Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis, I identified the 21st *tribunia potestas* of Hadrian, mentioned in the well-known inscription published by Leon Renier (*Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, III, No. 111) with year “December 137–8” A.D. As my learned friend Dr. Imhoof kindly points out to me, this is a *lepsus*, for the 21st *trib. pot.* corresponds really to December 136–137 A.D. Therefore, as in the aforesaid inscription, year 139 of Sebastopolis is identified with the 21st *trib. pot.* = 136–7 A.D., it is much more likely that the starting point of the era is, as is commonly given, October 3 A.D., than, as I put it, October 2 A.D. This would only be possible if the inscription dated from between October and December 137.

TUTORIUS REINACH.

TWO HOARDS OF ROMAN COINS.—The two following hoards of Roman coins found in England appear to have been published, the first only in small part and the second not at all. I do not pretend myself to be able to give full details of either, but the following facts about them may be worth recording, in default of more.

(1) In July, 1879, some labourers digging flints in one of the valleys between Beachy Head and Birling Gap, Sussex, found, about two feet underground, an earthenware vessel containing Roman “third Brass.” How many were found is not known; 681 or 682 were submitted to Mr. Thos. Calvert, and 148 were selected by him and presented by the owner of the place where the coins were found, the late Duke of Devonshire, to the Free Library at Brighton, where they may still be seen. A little “Descriptive Catalogue” was compiled by Mr. Calvert and printed, and a short note of the discovery inserted in the *Sussex Archaeological*

Collections (xxxi, 201). A large part of the rest of the hoard was given to the Caldecott Museum at Eastbourne and has never been published. By the courtesy of the Trustees I have been lately able to look this through.

The following is a table of the results. B = Brighton, E = Eastbourne.

	B	E
Valerian	1	—
Gallienus	45	10
Saloninus	1	—
Salonina	6	—
Postumus	16	—
Laetianus	2	—
Marinus	1	—
Victorinus	11	175
Claudius Gothicus	42	14
Quintillus	7	—
Tetricus (Senior and Junior)	14	167
Aurelian	2	—
Illegible	—	7
	148	973

From some figures on the paper wrappings at Eastbourne, I should infer that Mr. Calvert's 680 coins originally included, *inter alia*, 224 of the Tetrici and 208 of Victorinus.

(2) On December 11, 1851, the son of the landlord of the Dog Inn, at Easton, six miles west by north from Norwich, found in ploughing a coarse earthenware vessel containing about 4,000 "small Brass" of the third and fourth centuries. The hoard, or a large part of it, came at once into the possession of Mr. J. Hudaon Gurney, and was given by him, some little while ago, to the Norwich Museum, where I have roughly looked through it. The Museum seems to possess about 2300 coins, 2142 of which belong to the following Emperors. The larger figures, I fear, may be only approximate.

Gallienus	—	—	—	2
Victorinus	—	—	—	2
Tetricus (Senior)	—	—	—	1
Claudius Gothicus	—	—	—	2
Diocletian	—	—	—	1
Constantius Chlorus	—	—	—	3
Licinius I	—	—	—	9
Constantine the Great	—	—	—	377

Crispus	98
Constantine II	347
Urbs Roma	549
Constantinopolis	571
Helena	9
Constantius II	229
Constans	1

The hoard might, I think, be worth cataloguing in detail and accurately, and comparing with similar Constantian hoards found in England and on the Rhine.

F. HAVERFIELD.

FIND OF ROMAN SILVER COINS NEAR CAISTOR, NORFOLK.—In 1895, a small hoard of twenty denarii in a little earthenware urn were found on the Caistor Hall estate, close to the "camp" at Caistor by Norwich, which probably represents a Roman-British town that in all probability was called Venta Icenorum. These coins are preserved by Mrs. Green at Caistor Hall; the following is a brief list, which she has allowed me to make.

1. Tiberius, of A.D. 15. Rev.—PONTIF. MAXIM. Livia seated to right. Cohen 16 (second edition). Much worn.
2. Otho. IMP. OTHO CAESAR AVG. . . Plain head to right. Rev.—PONT. MAX. Otho (?) seated to left. Cohen 13 (or possibly 7).
3. Vespasian. Rev.—AVGVSTI TRI. POT. Augural objects. Cohen 48.
4. Vespasian. IMP. VESPASIAN . . . Head to right. Rev.—PON . . . TR.P. COS. IIII. Seated female figure holding out branch to left. Not in Cohen.
5. Vespasian. Rev.—Two capricorns and buckler. Cohen 497.
6. Vespasian Head to right. Defaced.
7. Nerva, of A.D. 97. Rev.—AEQVITAS AVGVST. Figure of Equity to left. Cohen 9.

8. Trajan, of A.D. 104-110. *Rev.*—S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Valour standing in military attire with shield, dagger, and foot on helmet. Cohen 402.
9. Trajan, of A.D. 101-102. *Rev.*—P.M. TR.P. COS. IIII P.P. Hercules with club and lion's skin. Cohen 234.
10. Hadrian. *Rev.*—ANNONA AVG. Modius with four spikes of corn. Cohen 172 (*tête nua à droite*).
11. Hadrian. *Rev.*—RESTITVTORI AFRICAE. Woman (*Africa*) worshipping Hadrian. Cohen 1223.
12. Hadrian. *Rev.*—FELICITAS AVG. Felicity with caduceus and cornucopia, standing. Cohen 602.
13. Sabina. Head to right. Defaced.
14. Antoninus Pius (TR. P. XV., A.D. 152). *Rev.*—COS III. Vesta. Cohen 190.
15. Faustina the Elder. *Rev.*—AETERNITAS. Figure of Eternity. Cohen 11.
16. Marcus Aurelius (as Cæsar). *Rev.*—COS. II. Peace, standing. Cohen 105.
17. The same.
18. Marcus Aurelius. TR. P. XXVII. *Rev.*—IMP. VI. COS. III. A woman (not a man) weeping at the foot of a trophy. Variety of Cohen 296.
19. Marcus Aurelius (TR. P. XXXI., A.D. 177). Cohen 942.
20. Faustina the Younger. *Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. Peacock. Cohen 70.

The last two coins are the latest; both are in good condition. The hoard was, I imagine, buried either during the troubles of the reign of Commodus or during the struggle of Albinus and Severus (A.D. 193-7) which closely concerned Britain. Similar hoards of *denarii*, which must have been

buried at one or other of these periods, are common in Britain. Examples from the same district as the one just described have been found at Caston (*Archæologia*, xx. 577); North Elmham (Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, ix. 491); Feltwell (*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxvi. 191); Melton Magna (*Archæological Journal*, xlvi. 362); probably at Oxnead (Blomefield, *ib.* vi. 498). The only noteworthy feature in the Caistor hoard is the occurrence of a denarius of Tiberius. In general the Imperial denarii issued before Nero's depreciation of the denarius (*circa* A.D. 60) are rare in these hoards. Being better silver than the current coin, they had long been melted down either by private individuals or by the Roman Treasury.

The hoard seems to contain two new varieties, Nos. 4 and 18, but neither is of special interest.

F. HAVERFIELD.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow. Vol. II. By George Macdonald, M.A. Glasgow, James MacLehose & Sons, 1901.

Mr. Macdonald has not kept us long waiting for the second instalment of his Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunter Museum, especially when one takes into account the circumstances under which he has performed his task. The first volume of the Catalogue, published in 1898, gave a description of the coins of Italy, Sicily, Thrace and Macedon; the second carries us on from North-Western Greece to Central Greece, Southern Greece and Asia Minor: the last including the important series of Pontus, Troas, Ionia, Caria, Lycia, Cypres, &c. Throughout the collection maintains a general standard of uniformity, and though coins of a very special nature are not numerous, yet each section is fairly and sometimes even fully represented. When we consider the conditions under which Dr. Hunter formed his collection, this general uniformity is somewhat surprising. It is not necessary to say that though Mr. Macdonald has produced his volume in a very short space of time, there are no signs of haste, and each coin is most carefully described, and the heading notice to each district and town and his references to published works are as carefully written and as numerous as in his first volume. The third volume, which is

promised "after a not less reasonable interval," and which will describe the coins of Syria, Northern Africa, &c., will bring Mr. Macdonald's work to a conclusion.

The plates which accompany this volume are thirty-two in number, and in these we notice a great improvement as compared with those in the first volume.

The University of Glasgow is again to be congratulated, not only in securing the continued and, we believe, unremunerated services of Mr. Macdonald; but also in having found so liberal a patron in Mr. James Stevenson of Hailes, who, having ascertained that the original estimate of the cost of the work would probably be exceeded, has made a substantial addition to his fund.

H. G.

Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines. Part 1, Vol. 1.
By Ernest Babelon. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1901.

We quite agree with M. Babelon when he says that, in attempting to write a general treatise on ancient classical coins, he has undertaken an arduous task and one of *longue haleine*. To the uninitiated the task may not seem so arduous; but those acquainted with the subject know that it means nothing less than an Encyclopedia of Ancient Numismatics.

The work will be divided into two portions: one dealing with the theory and doctrine of Ancient Numismatics; the other with the history and description of the coins themselves. The first portion will occupy three volumes, but the author does not say how many are to be devoted to the second portion, in which the coinage of every province, town and royal dynasty will receive either its book, *sive*, chapter or paragraph according to its importance.

The first volume of Part 1, now issued and consisting of some 600 pages quarto, is a general introduction to the subject, defining the science of numismatics and dealing with its history, the nomenclature of the coins, the different modes of calculation used by the Greeks and Romans, metallurgy, and the technical production of money, under which last heading are included the striking of the coins, the administration of the mints and the explanation of the different mint-marks.

It would be outside the limits of this notice to attempt an analysis of so many and varied subjects; so we shall limit our remarks to a few points noticed during a somewhat superficial glance; for to read the work seriously would take a considerable time.

After pointing out the scientific utility of ancient numismatics

M. Babelon gives a history of the science from the earliest times, for amongst the ancients such names as P. Aemilius Scævola, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Lucretius, Sallust and Verres are associated with the collecting of rings, cameos, coins and statuary; but passing on to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries he shows how misleading were many of the publications, especially as regards the illustrations. To produce uniformity, all coins, of whatsoever denomination, are figured to one standard size, and absolutely false identifications are supplied by the most misleading inscriptions. Thus on a coin of Gela, with the man-headed bull personifying the river Gelas, the legend MINOTVRVS occurs; the deified head of Alexander on the coins of Lysimachus is accompanied by the name of that monarch, and around the helmeted head of Pallas on the stater of Corinth is seen the name of Antigonus. To us who nowadays are accustomed to the accurate reproduction and illustration by the autotype processes such incongruities are simply appalling. In continuing his account the author not only mentions all the principal works on numismatics, but supplies particulars of their authors, and the history of the formation and gradual growth of the most important public collections; but in his list of Sale Catalogues of the nineteenth century it would have been well if a little more discrimination had been used, for many mentioned of those which occurred in England are of no importance whatever.

The chapter on the nomenclature of the coins is full of learning and information; but we cannot agree with M. Babelon that in the case of the *nummi serrati*, the first struck at Rome may have been issued by a moneyer whose name was *Denter* or *Dentatus*, nor with M. Svorona and Mr. Seltman who assign to such pieces an astronomical allusion. The suggestion that the serrated edge was due rather to the exigencies of cutting out the flan from the flat bar of metal seems to us the most probable one. A punch with a plain circular edge would be much more liable to injury than one with a dentated edge, and for that reason the latter was occasionally used; but it is probable that these rough-edged pieces at no time met with much favour, and so their only occasional issue for a limited period may be accounted for.

In connection with the striking of coins we are not surprised that M. Babelon takes the more rational view as regards the interpretation of the famous wall painting recently discovered in the house of the Vettii, at Pompeii. As at first suggested, he considers it to show the interior of a mint and not the workshop of a goldsmith. We quite agree with M. Babelon in this view, and in support of it we would only add as regards

those who take the other view, that we do not think that the ancient Roman jewellery was at any time manufactured with sledge hammers.

The last chapter on mints and their marks, especially those established during the later Roman period, will be a delight to those interested in those later series of coins. Hitherto the numerous letters and symbols have been an enigma; but M. Babelon has reduced them to an intelligible order and shows that each mint had its own peculiar system of numeration, which in most cases was of a complex nature. In solving this difficult question M. Babelon has no doubt derived considerable help from recent publications in the *Numismatic Chronicle* and similar journals, more especially those of M. Jules Maurice, "On the Coins of the Constantine Period." It was only by treating such coins from a chronological point of view that the system of these mint marks could be unravelled.

It is needless to add that the work undertaken by M. Babelon will recommend itself to all numismatists, or to prophesy that it will be the future text book to ancient numismatics. M. Babelon is to be congratulated on his courage in launching on such a big venture, and he has our heartiest wishes that he may see it to a successful issue.

H. G.

Greek Coins and their Parent Cities, by John Ward, F.S.A., accompanied by a Catalogue of the Author's Collection, by G. F. Hill, M.A., of the British Museum. John Murray, 1902.

Mr. Ward within a surprisingly short time has succeeded in forming a cabinet of fine Greek coins, which will certainly take its rank in future among the more famous private collections of English amateurs of Greek art; and, wiser than most of his predecessors, Mr. Ward has not hesitated to publish during his own lifetime a richly illustrated catalogue of his treasures. He has also been fortunate in having been able to secure the services of such an accomplished scholar and numismatist as Mr. G. F. Hill, as a cataloguer competent to arrange his coins in chronological order, and to describe every specimen in strict scientific terms, and with an accuracy of detail which will be appreciated at its full value by all serious students of numismatics.

If other well-known collectors of Greek coins, such as Wigan, Bunbury, Six, Montagu, &c., and, among those still living, Greenwell, had only been inspired with a similar generous desire of making their acquisitions available for scholars, what a mass of material for study might have been accumulated

which is now only imperfectly accessible in sale catalogues compiled after the death of the collectors, catalogues which, excellent as they are in many cases for sale purposes, are necessarily insufficient for scientific research.

Mr. Hill's Catalogue contains minute descriptions of more than 980 specimens ranging over the entire field of Greek Autonomous and Regal money. Of these, about 370 belong to Magna Graecia and Sicily, 210 to Greece proper and the Islands, and 354 to Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, &c. All the more important specimens are well illustrated by the autotype process in a fine series of 22 quarto plates, with numerous additional half-tone blocks inserted in the text.

This splendid catalogue is bound up, rather incongruously, with a lively and popular treatise by Mr. Ward entitled *Imaginary Rambles in Hellenic Lands*, which is lavishly illustrated from photographs of picturesque sites and masterpieces of Greek sculpture, &c., such as might well have abounded, had it been possible in the eighteenth century, the fascinating pages of the Abbé Barthélémy's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*. What would not the worthy Abbe have given for each beautiful illustration for the Imaginary Rambles of his imaginary hero?

With this portion of the work it would be out of place to deal in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and we think the author would have been well advised to have published it separately, appealing as it does to an entirely different class of readers, whose interest in coins is merely casual, and might well have been sufficiently stimulated by an occasional engraving of a beautiful coin whenever the author could illustrate his remarks by a numismatic allusion.

B. V. H.

XIII.

THE COINAGE OF TIGRANES I.

In working at the third volume of the new Hunterian Catalogue, I have recently had occasion to examine somewhat carefully various specimens of the money of Tigranes I. As a result, there have emerged certain points that seem to render possible a more complete and orderly arrangement of his coinage than any hitherto suggested. It may be convenient to have these formally recorded in the *Chronicle*. At all events, the foot-note to which I had originally intended to relegate them threatens to expand to altogether unreasonable dimensions.

It has been generally—and I believe rightly—assumed that the issues of Tigranes, so far as we know them, commenced shortly after he had made himself master of Syria in 83 B.C. The prominence given to the Tyche of Antioch upon his coins shows plainly that it was rather as a Seleucid king than as ruler of Armenia that he struck money. Further, it is intrinsically improbable that he was allowed to retain any right of mintage after he had been humbled by Lucullus in 69 B.C. This stretch of fourteen years I now propose to divide into three periods. Characteristic coins belonging to the second and third of these periods are dated. Here, therefore, there can be no doubt as to the proper chronological succession. That the first of my periods is also the earliest in time, is less

absolutely certain. But its priority will hardly be seriously questioned by any one who considers the superior style of the coins that attach to it, combined with the neat way in which they fill an obvious gap. It is, of course, quite conceivable that the periods indicated may have overlapped. At present, however, there is no evidence that they did so; and, until such evidence is forthcoming, we shall be justified in keeping them apart. My re-arrangement is, I should explain, based entirely on the silver issues. At the same time it has seemed desirable to attempt to account for the copper also.

PERIOD I.

UNDATED. STYLE VERY FAIR. TITLE ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Silver.

Here I would place the great majority of the tetradrachms that have come down to us. The following is a general description of the types:—

Obv.—Head of Tigranes r., wearing a lofty Armenian tiara, decorated with an eight-rayed star placed between two eagles which face outwards, but have their heads turned back; bead and reel border.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r., downwards). The Tyche of An-

ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ (to l., downwards). tiouch, draped
and wearing
turreted crown, seated r. on rock, holding palm-
branch in her r.; at her feet, the river-god
Orontes, swimming r.; the whole within wreath.

[*B. M. C.*, PL. XXVII, 6.]

The workmanship is, as a rule, good. On the reverse there are usually to be seen, either on the rock or in the field, one or more monograms or letters. I have compared the monograms and letters that occur on published speci-

mens. The results of the comparison have been valueless. All that can safely be said, is that some of the combinations appear to represent magistrates' names. I should add that during this period the silver issues must have consisted mainly, if not entirely, of tetradrachms. I have met with no examples of any lower denomination.

Copper.

Among the copper pieces which I would assign to this period, three sets can be distinguished. I append to each, in grammes, the weights of all specimens about which I have exact information.

- (i) Wt. 5·81 (B. M.); 4·29 (Hunter).

Obr.—Similar head of Tigranes r., wearing tiara; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r., downwards). Nike advancing left, holding wreath and palm.
ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ (to l., downwards).

- (ii) Wt. 3·69 (B. M.); 2·94 (Hunter).

Obr.—Similar; but behind head of king, A.

Rev.—Similar.

[*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 9.]

- (iii) Wt. 4·15 (Paris).

Obr.—Similar; no letter.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r., downwards). Palm filleted.
ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ (to l., downwards).

[*Babelon, Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XXIX. 19.]

In connecting these with the tetradrachms described above I have been guided partly by style and partly by the inscription. The execution is distinctly superior to

that of the silver of Period III.; in particular, the different treatment of the tiara should be noted. On the other hand, on all the silver of Period II. the King has the high-sounding title of *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*. These two considerations are confirmed by a third. Letters and monograms are found on the reverse of certain examples of (i.) and (iii.). Small as is the number of available copper pieces, I have observed at least one case of undoubted agreement with the silver. The letters Δ **M** are shown in the field left on the tetradrachm figured in *B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 6. They are recorded by Leake (*Num. Hellen.* p. 38) as occurring in precisely the same position on a copper coin with the types of (i.).

PERIOD II.

DATED. STYLE FAIR. TITLE ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ.

Silv.

With the exception of a tetradrachm at Paris (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XXIX. 15), the only pieces I have noted as falling within the second period are drachms. The following general description will suffice for both denominations:—

Obr.—Head of Tigranes r., as in Period I.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r., downwards). The Tyche of Antioch seated r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (to l., downwards). *TIGRANOY* with the river-

god Orontes at her feet; letters in field r., and beneath.

[*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 8.]

The workmanship is fair. The letters on the reverse

call for special attention. Those beneath vary but little. I find **ΞΚ**, **ΞC**, and **ZK** recorded. Probably, therefore, they represent a mint-mark. Those that appear in the field r., above, are much more interesting, as the following list will prove:—

- ΔΛ** (Imhoef, *Monn. grécq.*, p. 438.)
- ΕΛ** (B. M. C., Pl. XXVII. 8.)
- ΣΛ** (Hunter.)
- ΖΛ** (Imhoef, *Monn. grécq.*, p. 438.)
- ΗΛ** (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XXIX. 15.)

It is plain that we have here to do with a system of dating. Before discussing it further, it will be well to dispose of a minor point. Very often there is a third letter in the field, just above the head of the river-god. Under the year 35 (**ΕΛ**) I have found recorded the following:—

- Β** (Imhoef, *Monn. grécq.*, p. 438.)
- Ζ** (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 215, No. 24.)
- Η** (Imhoef, *Monn. grécq.*, p. 438.)
- Θ** (B. M. C., Pl. XXVII. 8.)
- Ι** (Cat. Gréan, Pl. V. 2445.)

Similarly, under the year 36 (**ΣΛ**) I have observed two varieties,

- Δ** (B. M., unpublished.)
- Η** (Hunter.)

The inference is, I think, clear. During at least two years the month of striking was usually recorded. Instances of similar precision will readily suggest themselves. The one most in point is the case of Tigranes's own relative and ally, Mithradates.

Returning to the more important dates, I may point out that the numbers are too large to admit of the possibility

that they indicate regnal years. On the other hand, running as they do from 34 to 38, they tally perfectly with the system which is known to have been employed by Philippus Philadelphus. Various views have been put forward as to the starting-point of that system. M. Babelon suggested 111 n.c. (*Rois de Syrie*, p. clxix) on the ground that this corresponded with the ascertained era of Tripolis and Sidon. His suggestion is now confirmed by epigraphic evidence which at the same time entirely explains the significance of the date. In a letter, first published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1888 and afterwards fully discussed by U. Wilcken in *Hermes* for 1894¹ (a reference I owe to the kindness of Mr. E. R. Bevan), we find Antiochus VIII (Grypus) making the year of his return from Aspendus (111 n.c.) the commencement of a new epoch. So far as I am aware, this method of reckoning does not appear upon his coins. But there need be no surprise at its being adopted by his son Philippus or by Tigranes, who served himself heir to the latter's possessions. It follows that the silver belonging to our Period II. was struck between 77 and 73 n.c.

Copper.

To the same period must be given a series of copper pieces that agree in types, in style, and in inscription with the dated drachms. A characteristic specimen is figured in *B.M.C.*, Pl. XXVII. 10. An apparent exception is described by M. Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*, p. 213, No. 15) as reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. I am convinced, however, by an examination of the corresponding plate (XXIX. 10), that this coin does not differ from others of the same class.

¹ *Hermes*, Vol. xxix., pp. 496 ff.

If it actually has ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, this is a mere engraver's blunder such as has produced the curious variety of legend in the B.M. coin to which I have referred, where the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ is both retrograde and inverted. Stray letters or monograms occasionally make their appearance on the reverse. Of these I cannot offer any explanation. It falls to be added that the class contains two denominations, which differ markedly in weight and size, the first being probably twice the value of the second. My list of weights is as follows :—

- (i) 10·82 (Hunter); 8·64, 7·73, 6·53 (all in B. M.); 7·80 (Paris).
- (ii) 4·63 (B. M.); 3·39 (Hunter).

A third variety of copper must also be assigned to this period. The solitary example I have met with is *B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 11. The reverse type is Herakles standing. But the inscription, combined with the style of the obverse, renders it impossible to place it elsewhere. The weight is 6·15 grammes.

PERIOD III.

DATED. STYLE POOR. TITLE ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Silver.

The silver coins of the third period are rare. I know only of three or four tetradrachms, which may be thus described :—

Obv.—Head of Tigranes r., wearing Armenian tiara, decorated with eight-rayed star and simple volute; bead and reel border.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r., downwards). Tyche draped, ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ (to l., downwards). seated l., on rock, stretch-

ing out r. hand and holding cornucopias in l.; beneath her feet, river-god, swimming to front; in field l., monograms and letters; in ex., date; all within wreath.

[*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 5.]

The style of these pieces is coarse. Some characteristic differences from Period I. may be pointed out. On the obverse the decoration of the tiara is less elaborate, while the treatment of the flap shows marks of deterioration. On the reverse the type is so much changed that I doubt whether it can be interpreted as a representation of Antioch at all. May not the coins have been struck elsewhere? Again, the figure looks to l. instead of to r., and holds a cornucopia, not a palm-branch. Further, the rock on which she is seated is highly conventionalised.² Lastly, the position of the river-god is altered.

The letters in the field need not detain us long. Α or Α, whatever it may mean, occurs on all of the specimens known to me. For the rest, ΘΕΟΦ (*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 5) is obviously a magistrate's name, while analogy would lead us to say the same of Ν which occupies a similar place on a Paris tetradrachm (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 214, No. 16). The monogram Η appears both in the first and in the third periods. It has long been recognised that the dates in the exergue refer to the Seleucid era. Two are certain—ΒΜΣ (242) in London (*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 5), and ΓΜΣ (243) in Paris (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XXIX. 11). A third is doubtful—ΑΜΣ (241) in Paris (Babelon, *op. cit.*, p.

² So much so, indeed, that on the corresponding copper coins it has sometimes been taken to be part of the legend (=ΘΕΟΥ), e.g. Ramsay (l., p. 802), and Gough's *Coinage of the Seleucidae* (Pl. xxiii. 9).

214, No. 16). These determine the apparent limits of our third period, 71-69 B.C.

Copper.

The copper can be dealt with very briefly. A glance at *B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 7, will leave no room for doubt as to its close connection with the silver. It is true that there are no dates, any more than there are on the copper coinage of Period II. But types and style are identical. If further confirmation were needed, it could be got from the magistrates' names. Thus, ΘΕΟΦ and Ν, which we have seen on the silver, occur again on the copper (*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXVII. 7, and p. 104, No. 9). The weights indicate that there are two denominations of this variety. The following is a list:—

- (i) 8·42, 7·58 (both in B. M.); 8·2 (The Hague); 7·55, 7·45, 5·80 (all in Paris); 6·41, 6·09, 6·02 (all Hunter).
- (ii) 4·04 (Hunter); 3·2 (The Hague).

To complete the analogy with Periods I. and II., there ought to be a third denomination of copper, differing in the type of the reverse from the other two, and coming midway between them in weight. That is possibly to be found in Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XXIX. 14, which has on the obverse a head of Tigranes in the later style, and on the reverse a standing figure of Tyche. It is true that the Paris example is very light (3); but there is a specimen at Copenhagen which weighs 4·15.

Such, it seems to me, is a fair statement of the numismatic data with which historians of Tigranes I. have to reckon. This is hardly the place to speculate on any conclusions that might be deduced from them.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

XIV.

THE CROSS AND PALL ON THE COINS OF ÆLFRED THE GREAT.

At a time immediately after what I may venture to call the national celebration of the millenary of our great King Ælfred, any questions relating to his coinage must of necessity possess more than ordinary interest, especially if the discussion of them is, even in the slightest degree, calculated to throw light on the history and religious attitude of England in the days of that enlightened founder of the British Empire.

Now there are two types of the pennies of Ælfred which in my opinion have hardly as yet received the attention that they merit, and whose origin and meaning, hidden though it may be, have not as yet been suggested by numismatic writers. It is true that the late Rev. D. H. Haigh,¹ in speaking of some of the coins to which I am about to call attention, says, "The most remarkable feature on these coins is the division of the obverse legend into four groups so as to give to the type a cruciform appearance. This is a feature peculiar to the English money of the time"—"observable on no Continental coin." He assigns no cause for the adoption of the type. The types

¹ *Nom. Chron.*, N.S., x. 83.

that I am about to consider are among the commonest of those of Ælfred's coinage, and in the Catalogue of English coins in the British Museum compiled by Messrs. Grueber and Keary² are designated Types XIV and XV. They are thus described :

TYPE XIV.

Obr.—Small cross patée. Around, inscription between two circles, generally in three or four divisions.

Rev.—Moneyer's name, &c., in two lines across field; ornaments.

TYPE XV.

Obr.—Small cross patée. Around, inscription in three divisions and between two circles.

Rev.—Moneyer's name, &c., in two lines across field, divided by three crosses patées.

There is also the unique coin Type X, struck by Tilewine at London, with the small central cross and the inscription around it in four divisions.

The question that I wish to discuss is what is the meaning and intention of subdividing in this manner a circular inscription into four or three segments, as the case may be, leaving a blank space between each segment and the next? And the suggestion I have to make is that in the one case the four spaces were intended to typify the Christian cross and in the other the archiepiscopal pall. Looking at a coin with the four spaces, the imaginary figure of the cross is not at once apparent, but on contemplating it for a short time, the "shadow of the

² Vol. ii, 1893, p. 35.

cross" over the legend becomes distinctly apparent, and it is difficult afterwards to shake off the feeling that it is there. The same is the case with the coins that have three spaces in the legend, only the pall is more readily appreciable than the cross.

I have already on a former occasion^{*} called attention to the representation of the archiepiscopal pall on coins struck by Anglo-Saxon kings, and shown that these coins issued from the mints at Canterbury. It is also occasionally symbolized by the insertion of three small crosses at equal distances in the legend. Obliterate these crosses and leave three blank spaces in their stead, and the obverse legend on Type XV is at once developed. It now becomes a question whether any of these coins of *Ælfred* with the cryptic form of pall can be identified as having been issued from the Canterbury mint. Appended is a list compiled from the British Museum Catalogue, but with the omission of some few doubtful names, showing the moneyers who struck coins of Types XIV and XV at Canterbury and London as well as of those the site of whose mints is at present undetermined. The moneyers, eight in number, who coined for Archbishop Plegmund as well as for King *Ælfred* are distinguished by a P. It will be seen that at Canterbury, *Æthelstan* struck coins of Type XIV with the pall only, *Æthered* with the cross for Type XIV and with the pall for XV, and *Eifstan* Type XV only, with the pall. Seeing that this last adopted the archiepiscopal symbol only, I regard him as working at Canterbury and not at London. *Æthelulf*, who struck Type XV with the pall, coined also for Plegmund and ought to be classed under Canterbury. *Beorumer* also, who struck Types XIV and XV

* *Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., ii., pp. 74, 82.

with the pall, may with some degree of probability be regarded as belonging to the Canterbury mint, and possibly Byrnhelm and Heremund, who struck Type XIV with the pall only. It will, however, be seen that at least nine of the acknowledged Canterbury moneymen struck Type XIV with the cross only.

It will also be seen that seven moneymen whose place of mintage is unknown coined pennies of both Types XIV and XV, sometimes with the cross and sometimes with the pall. Among these Wulfred seems to have an indisputable claim to be connected with Canterbury, while the names Cuthbert, and Cuthwulf, and Cynewulf present close analogies with the well-known name of Cuthred, King of Kent.

It remains to be seen what can have been the possible cause for the introduction of this occult use of the two Christian and ecclesiastical symbols. It may, perhaps, be found in the large payments of money by which Alfred purchased the departure of the heathen Danish invaders from his territory. There may have been a secret satisfaction in feeling that the coins extorted from Christian Wessex by the Vikings should carry with them in a hidden form the tokens of that religion over which for the moment the heathen had triumphed, and that the conquerors in copying the coins, as they did, as for instance Herebert at Lincoln, should unawares be driven to adopt the emblems of Christianity. There may also have been a thought for the Christian captives among the Danes, who on recognising the hidden mystery on these coins would thank God and take courage. I submit these suggestions for what they are worth, but the fact that the cross and the pall are typified by the vacant

spaces in the legends on these coins will, I think, be accepted by all impartial observers.

JOHN EVANS.

MONETERS OF ÆLFRED WHO STRUCK COINS OF TYPES XIV AND XV OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM CATALOGUE.

Four divisions in the legend are represented by +, and three by Y. (P) signifies that the moneymer whose name it follows coined also for Archbishop Plegmund.

CANTERBURY.

	Type XIV.	Type XV.		Type XIV.	Type XV.
ÆDELSTAN (P)	Y	Y	EADVALD	+	
ÆDERED (P)	+	Y	ELFSTAN (P)		Y
BEORNRED	+		EDELVINE	+	
BERNVALD (P)	+		REREFERD (P)	+	
DIARVALD (P)	+		TIDVALD (P)	+	
DVNINL	+				

LONDON.

ÆLFSTAN ? Can- terbury	Y	TILEWINE	+
BEAVVLF	+	Also Type X.	

UNRECOGNISED MINTS.

ABENEL	+	LYNEVLF	+
ÆLFVALD	+	DEALINE	+
ÆDELVLF (P)	Y	DEALLA	+
ALVVADA	+	DVDIL	+
BEALSTAN	+	DVNNA	+Y
BEORNMER	Y	EALDVVLF	+
BERHTERE	+	EIBERHT	+
BRIDARD	+	EUVVLF	+Y
BOGA	+Y	ELDA	+
BYRNHELM	Y	ELPVALD	+
ByRNHERE	+	EDELVLF	+
EVDBERHT	+Y	FERLYN ?	+
EVGVVLF	+Y	GARVINE ?	+

UNRECOGNISED MINTS—*continued.*

	Type XIV.	Type XV.		Type XIV.	Type XV.
GODA	+		SAMSON		Y
GVDEHEBE	+		SIGEVALD	+	
HEREMOD	+		SIMVN	+	
HEREMUND	Y		STEFANVS	+	
HEREVVLF	+		VVILBALD	+	
HVNBERHT	+		VVINE	+	
IVDELJARD	+		VVINIGER	+	
LVDIL	+		VVLFRED	Y+	
OSVVLF	+		WYNBERHT	+	Y
SÆRIS	+				

XV.

ON THE COINS OF WILLIAM I AND II AND THE SEQUENCE OF THE TYPES.

On the 14th October, 1066, was fought the Battle of Hastings, at a place about five miles north-west of that important Saxon town and seaport.

The ships of William, Duke of Normandy, were brought to land at Pevensey Bay, near Hastings, and the Battle of Hastings shortly afterwards took place at the spot now known as Battle.

Harold having been slain and his adherents routed at Battle, William marched to Dover, where the castle was taken and the town of Dover destroyed. His move to London was rapidly completed, and William was then crowned at Westminster Abbey at Christmas, 1066, by Aldred, Archbishop of York.

It was part of William's policy to reign as the rightful successor of the Saxon Kings, and to that end he showed, in the early part of his reign, a wish to adhere to the Saxon laws and customs, and to disturb as little as possible the existing order of affairs.

This fact is illustrated by his strict adherence to Saxon rules in reference to the weight and fineness, and even the pattern or type, of his early issues of coins, and by the retention of the Saxon moneyers in many cases, a circumstance more fully alluded to hereafter.

It is clearly and often stated in Domesday Book that

there were certain sums payable by the moneymasters for dies of new types, and there were undoubtedly benefits derived by the Exchequer or Royal Treasury on a change of type taking place. The evidence of all finds of Norman coins tends to show that there was, in addition to a change of design, a change also in legal tender, certain prior types being periodically superseded by the issue of a new and easily distinguishable pattern of coin. It is unfortunate that the exact date of the first imposition of the tax of monetarium has not yet been ascertained. This was a tax of 12 pence on the head of each household, payable every third year, and in return for its payment the King guaranteed to the tax-payers that he would not exercise his prerogative to change the type of money oftener than once in three years. Mr. W. J. Andrew, at page 14 of his *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*, (see *Num. Chron.*, 1901), remarks in reference to the tax of monetarium, "If it was instituted immediately after the Conquest, it certainly did not restrict the number of new coinages to one in every three years, for we have examples of nearly a score of distinct types issued during the thirty-four years of the reigns of the two Williams."

With this statement issue is joined, and it is interesting to compare it with the incongruous statement on page 37 (*op. cit.*), that there are *about* thirty-five distinct *regal* types in the Norman series. If Mr. Andrew's fifteen types of Henry I be deducted from thirty-five, there are twenty only left for William I and II and Stephen, and if "nearly a score," or, to be precise, Hawkins's eighteen types be deducted from twenty, there are two only left for Stephen! This, to use a phrase reminiscent of our old friend Euclides, would seem to be a conclusive "reductio ad absurdum."

There are in fact only thirteen distinct types of the
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coins of the two Williams, and of these there may be attributed eight to William I and five to William II.

William I reigned nearly twenty-one full years and William II nearly thirteen years, and in each case the succession and death took place approximately at the end (or commencement) of an Exchequer year (*viz.* 29th September) *i.e.*

WILLIAM I.	1066.	Oct. 14.	Battle of Hastings.
		Dec. 25.	Coronation.
	1087.	Sep. 10.	Death.
WILLIAM II.	1087.	Sep. 10.	Succession.
	1100.	Aug. 2.	Death.

If the monetarium rule of a change of type once in three years be applied to the two reigns, the coins account for a definite change of type every two and a-half years, and if the reigns be taken separately, it will be found that the same result is arrived at if eight types be attributed to William I, and the remaining five of the total of thirteen to William II.

On the accession of Henry I the monetarium tax was abolished. The passage in the "Laws" of this monarch (I. 5) is as follows: "Monetarium commune, quod capiebatur per civitates et per comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Edwardi regis, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo."

The statement that the tax did not exist in the time of King Edward is of interest.

Although the tax of monetarium was thus abolished by Henry I, it does not follow that the practice of changing the type once in three years as in the reigns of William I and II was not continued, as the thirty-five years of Henry I would by the same rule give fourteen types. There are in fact fifteen.

Pending the publication of Mr. Andrew's account of

Stephen's coins, it would be indiscreet to speak definitely, but the application of the rule enunciated above should give six or possibly seven *regal* types for that troubled reign, and the coins seem to justify the application of the rule in this case also.

It would therefore seem that the monetarium agreement was to restrict the change of *type* to once in three years, and that in practice several types were allowed to be current at the same time. In reference to Mr. Andrew's argument as to the issue of a *profile* type being necessary to effect a change of legal tender (page 36) this *may* be so, but in that case there were only two such changes in the reign of William I, namely Hks. 233 and 239, and there was only *one* such change in the reign of William II, viz., when Hks. 244 was issued, and that at the commencement of the new reign. It is submitted that the more consistent, and consequently more reasonable and better conjecture, is that during the time of the monetarium tax (William I and II) the *tender* was *not* changed (except in some special circumstances), but that when it was abolished (Henry I and after) the tender was changed on the issue of a profile type.

The distinct types of William I are Hawkins 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241-2, and 243, total 8.

Those of William II are 244, 246, 247, 248 and 250, total 5.

The other numbers are accounted for as follows:—235 is a "mule" connecting 233 and 234; 240 is a "mule" of 239 and 241; 242 is a variety of 241; 245 is a "mule" of 244 and 246; and 249 is a variety only of 250.

These three "mules" and two varieties account for the remaining five illustrations in Hawkins, but there are other "mules" and other varieties to be alluded to hereafter.

In reference to the "mule" specimens it will be seen that they consist of the obverse of an earlier type with the reverse of the next succeeding type in every case, and they thus afford important evidence of the sequence of the types. It would appear almost that it was the established custom for a short period between the issue of each successive type to coin specimens with the older type obverse and the new reverse, so as to accustom the people to the change and to preserve a record of the authorised succession of types, and these remarks apply equally to the coins of Edward the Confessor. The rarity of the "mule" coins points to their issue being for a short period only. It is proposed in the table next following to give the known distinctive types and to attempt an arrangement of their sequence, and to this end to apply the monetarium rule as propounded in this paper to fix the approximate dates of issue. The evidence of the "mule" theory is incorporated in the table, but varieties of type and other points of argument are dealt with hereafter under the headings of the respective types of the two reigns thus arranged.

WILLIAM I.

No. of Type.	Hawkins' Illustration.	Date of issue according to "monetarium" theory.	Remarks.
I. "Harold" type.	283	1060, after Oct. 14 1068, Sep. 29.	285 "mule" obverse of 283 and reverse of 284. As this was only a con- tinuance of Harold's sole type, its issue ceased at the end of the 3rd Exchequer year after its first issue by Harold.

WILLIAM I—continued.

No. of Type.	Hawkins' Designation.	Date of issue according to "Mincingium" theory.	Remarks.
II. "Bouquet" type.	284	1068, Sep. 29— 1071, Sep. 29.	
III. "Canopy" type.	286	1071, Sep. 29— 1074, Sep. 29.	The so-called canopy represents the royal throne. See Bayeux Tapestry.
IV. "2 Sceptres" type.	287	1074, Sep. 29— 1077, Sep. 29.	The two sceptres may represent the regal authority and the authority claimed by William I in ecclesiastical matters (the sceptre with cross at top representing the civil power under God's authority, "Christo auspice regno," and the sceptre with three pellets at top on the King's left the ecclesiastical authority newly asserted, the three pellets being emblematic of the Holy Trinity). ¹ "Mis" obverse of 287 and reverse of 288
V. 1st "2 Stars" type.	288	1077, Sep. 29— 1080, Sep. 29.	

¹ It has been suggested that there are four pellets, but that at the base of the three pellets alluded to is the rounded top of the staff of the sceptre.

WILLIAM I.—continued.

No. of Type.	Hawkins' Illustration.	Date of issue according to "Numenagium" theory.	Remarks.
VI. "Sword and Quadrilateral Ornament" type.	243	1080, Sep. 29— 1083, Sep. 29.	
VII. "Profile Sceptre" type.	239	1083, Sep. 29— 1086, Sep. 29.	
VIII. "Pax" type.	241-2	1086, Sep. 29— 1087, Sep. 10.	240 "mule" obverse of 239 and reverse of 241-2. 241 would seem to be the correct type and 242 a common variety. There are other varieties, but less general.

WILLIAM II.

No. of Type.	Hawkins' Illustration.	Date of issue according to "Numenagium" theory.	Remarks.
1. "Profile Sword" type.	244	1087, Sep.— 1090, Sep. 29.	
2. "Sword, Cross, and Pellets" type.	246	1090, Sep. 29— 1093, Sep. 29.	245 "mule" obverse of 244 and reverse of 246.

WILLIAM II—*continued.*

No. of Type.	Hawkins' Illustra- tion.	Date of issue according to "monogram" theory.	Remarks.
3. "Sword and Cross Flory" type.	247	1093, Sep. 29— 1096, Sep. 29.	
4. 2nd "2 Stars" type.	250	1096, Sep. 29— 1099, Sep. 29.	
5. "Sceptre and Star" type.	248	1099, Sep. 29— 1100, Aug. 2.	249 "variety" only of 250.

POINTS OF ARGUMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE ABOVE
SEQUENCE OF THE TYPES.

WILLIAM I.

"Harold" Type.—Type I (233) so resembles the coins of Harold on the obverse that a comparison of the specimens of that type and those of Harold affords convincing testimony to the eye of the observer. The head and crown are of the same drawing and the trachea is indicated distinctly in both.

A coin of Type I of the Bedwin mint in the writer's collection has the square-topped Saxon γ on the obverse and reverse, while the head and neck are those of Harold with a bust below added to or drawn on to the Harold head and neck. In this specimen the legend begins above the King's crown, instead of opposite the lower end of the sceptre. Mr. J. G. Murdoch has a coin of this type

struck at York with somewhat similar distinguishing characteristics. There are coins of this type of the Hereford, London and other mints *without* a sceptre, like the variety of Harold's one type without sceptre.

"*Bonnet*" Type.—Type II (234) is the full-faced representation of the obverse of Type I, and is connected with that type by the "mule" (Hawkins 235). A Wallingford coin of this type in the writer's collection has the legend beginning above the King's crown and divided by the bust, and another variety struck at Ipswich has a small head of the King within an inner circle (Montagu, lot 195, now in the British Museum). The coin with reverse of this (234) type and obverse of Edward the Confessor's last type (a profile) is doubtless a mule, the profile obverse type of Edward having been used in mistake for an obverse die of 233 (see illustration in the British Museum Catalogue, Vol. II., Plate XXVIII, fig. 7). This is attributed to Shaftesbury.

"*Canopy*" Type.—Type III (236) has a very similar reverse to Type I, and the obverse of this type resembles as regards the head and crown (including in the case of specimens of the Wallingford mint in the collections of Mr. L. A. Lawrence and the writer, the dependent ornaments or tassels at the side) the head and crown on Harold's coins and those of Types I and II.

"2 *Sceptres*" Type.—Type IV (237) is connected with Type II by the presence in some specimens of the line on the King's neck indicating the trachea, by its similarity to the varieties described under Type II as regards the placing of the obverse legend and the

inner circle, and by the full form of the Latin legend on the obverse.

1st "2 Stars" Type.—Type V (238) is connected with Type IV by the general similarity in workmanship and appearance and by the "mule" above mentioned (in the writer's collection), having the obverse of Type IV and the reverse of Type V.

"Sword and Quadrilateral Ornament" Type.—Type VI (243) resembles the neat workmanship of the immediately preceding types. Specimens were present in the Beaworth hoard, and no place remains for this type unless it is placed here. The statement on page 170 of the third edition of Hawkins as to there being a mule with obverse 243 and reverse 244 struck at Colchester is a mistake on the part of Mr. Kenyon. This erroneous statement does not occur in the first or second edition of Hawkins. The coin thus mis-described by Mr. Kenyon is in the British Museum and is an ordinary specimen of 247 without any special variation.

"Profile Sceptre" Type.—Type VII (239) must precede Type VIII, as the "mule" 240 has this obverse and consequently indicates the earlier type with the reverse of Type VIII.

"Pax" Type.—Type VIII (241) follows Type VII by the evidence of the "mule" 240.

WILLIAM II.

"Profile Sword" Type.—Type 1 (244) being a profile type may well mark the commencement of a new reign. It preceded Type 2 by the evidence afforded by the

"mule" 245, which has the obverse of Type 1 (244) and the reverse of Type 2 (246).

"*Sword, Cross, and Pellets*" Type.—Type 2 (246) succeeded Type 1 by the evidence of the "mule" 245.

"*Sword and Cross Flory*" Type.—Type 3 (247) probably succeeded Type II, as the workmanship is similar, but the execution rougher. In some specimens the bust is almost identical with the last preceding type (246). A conclusive proof that Type 3 (247) was issued subsequently to Type 2 (246) is afforded by a specimen (coined at Rochester) in the writer's collection which is struck over a coin of Type 246 of Hawkins, the 246 reverse being clearly visible through the impression of the new 247 obverse.

2nd "2 Stars" Type.—Type 4 (250) is a type generally much resembling in workmanship and style Type 3.

249 is a variety without the stars and more nearly resembling Type 3.

"*Sceptre and Star*" Type.—Type 5 (248) was, by reason of its close resemblance in size, workmanship, and general style (especially as regards the reverse type) to the first or second type of Henry I (Hawkins 251), probably the last type of the reign, and if, according to the monetarium theory, it only was issued for ten months or so, this would, in the absence of a find of coins deposited at or near this very period, account for its great rarity.

In the above remarks the evidence of "finds" of coins has not been referred to, and it is now proposed to deal with this subject. The great hoard (a treasure chest) found at Beaworth in 1833 consisted of about 8,000 to

9,000 coins, which were, with the exception of about 100, all of Type VIII of William I (Hawkins 241-2 and varieties). The recorded exceptions were approximately thirty-one of Type V (238), thirty-four of Type VI (243), eleven of Type VIII (239), and six of the "mule" (240), total eighty-two.

In the hoard discovered in the City of London in 1872, the coins were chiefly of Edward the Confessor, and the only ones of William were Typos II (234) and IV (237) of William I.

At Tamworth in 1877 were found 294 coins consisting solely of Type VIII (241-242) of William I, and Type 1 (244), "mule" (245) and Type 2 (246) of William II.

Mr. Allen, in *Numismatic Chronicle* (N. S.) xi, 227, gives some account of the Shillington, Co. Bedford, find in 1871. Of the coins inspected by him there occurred one of William I, Type VIII (*Paxs*), some of William II, Types 1 and 2 (244 and 246) and the most numerous were those of William II, Type 4 (250). There were also some early types of Henry I.

Mr. W. F. Lincoln has mentioned to me a "find" of coins of William I that came to his hands many years ago. These were exclusively of Type I (233), Type II (234), and Type III (236), and the last two types greatly predominated. Nearly all the coins were of the Wallingford mint.

In adducing the above proofs the "in and out" baronial and chartered-mint theory of Mr. Andrew has, for obvious reasons, not been made use of, but his idea of the date of the "Paxs" type some time between 1082-87 (see page 183, *sub* Durham), appears to be confirmed by the argument deduced from the monetarium theory as now propounded. The date tentatively assigned for the

issue of this type, viz., 29th September, 1086, is just after the compilation of Domesday Book had been completed, and the date at which William I received at Salisbury the oath of fealty from all the freeholders of the Kingdom.

Type VIII discloses the greatest number of mint towns (and these in all parts of the Kingdom), and the large preponderance of coins of this type in the Beaworth hoard points to it having been the latest type issued at the time of the deposit. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, page 189 of the translation, occurs the following passage, "Among other things is not to be forgotten the *good peace* he (William I) made in this land; so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm with his bosom full of gold, unhurt."

The PAXS coinage may well be commemorative of the ultimate state of peace and law instituted by the Conqueror's firm government.

As said above, Mr. Andrew's theory of barons and chartered mints has been avoided, but in order to assist Norman numismatics generally there is appended hereto a list of mints and the types issued from each.

It was originally my intention to add also a list of moneyers' names and mint names as they appear in conjunction on the coins; but as the editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle* have intimated to me that such a list would infringe too much on the limited space available in the *Chronicle*, I propose to issue it shortly through another channel. I would, however, add that in this list I shall endeavour to show, not only the continuity of the moneyers in connection with the mints throughout the Norman period, but also to trace them back to the period previous to the Conquest.

P. CARLYON-BRITTON.

Treatise of the Mists and their Types.

T. K. WILLIAMS

TALE OF THE MISTS AND THEIR TIDES—continued.

WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS

Order of Precept Master, Name	V. 948.	XX	XX	XX	X X	X XX
Lanfranc (St. Stephen's)						
Leicester						
Lewes						
Lincoln						
London						
Makdon.						
Malmsbury						
Marlborough						
Northampton						
Norwich						
Nottingham						
Oxford						
Peversey						
Rhuddlan						
Rochester						
Rutney						
Salisbury						
Sandwich						
Shafesbury						
Stowbury						
Southampton						
Southwark						
Stafford						
Stamford						
Stepheng.						

TABLE OF THE MISTS AND THEIR TYPES—*continued.*

WILLIAM I.		WILLIAM II.	
Order of Titles Hawkins' Figures	1. gen	II. gen	III. gen
Sulbury	-	-	-
Tanworth	-	-	-
Tatton	-	-	-
Theford	-	-	-
Torres	-	-	-
Tewtham (Christchurch)	-	-	-
Wallingford	-	-	-
Wareham	-	-	-
Warwick	-	-	-
Watchet	-	-	-
Wilton	-	-	-
Winchester	-	-	-
Worcester	-	-	-
York	-	-	-

XVI.

THE SILVER COINAGE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.

(See Plates VIII.—XI.)

It is now more than thirty years since Mr. Neck wrote his admirable paper on the Coinage of Henry IV, V, and VI, and as in this interval many coins unknown to him have come to light, particularly in connection with the reign of Henry VI, the time would seem to have arrived for attempting a further classification of the coins of this period than has hitherto been possible, and I propose to do what I can to deal in a complete manner with the last of the three reigns. In so doing I must, I fear, ask indulgence for a considerable amount of repetition of what has been previously written by others at various times, but this appears to be unavoidable if anything like a consecutive history of the coinage of this reign is to be attempted.

During the nearly forty years of the reign of Henry VI we have at least six distinct coinages, some of them very large ones and practically unvaried, and others so subdivided as to form groups of separate issues. By carefully following these out, particularly in the later periods, we incidentally remark how the political vicissitudes of the times made themselves felt even in connection with the coinage. One, and perhaps the most remarkable

feature of the earlier numismatic history of this reign, is the great importance attained by the mint at Calais, from which for some years by far the greater portion of the silver money for circulation in England was issued. From the mint accounts given by Ruding we find that while from the 10th year of Henry V to the end of the reign of Henry VI only 39,186 lbs. weight of silver was coined at the London mint, 183,588 lbs. was coined at that of Calais, more than a third of this latter amount being issued for currency during the first five and a-half years. The mint accounts are acknowledged to be incomplete, and were they not so, I believe, as I shall subsequently give reasons for supposing, that the proportion of bullion coined at Calais was even larger. Edward III established the mint at Calais within three months of the surrender of the town to him in 1347, and commanded that the white money to be made there should be such as was coined in England. No Calais coins of Edward III are, however, known of this period. On the 20th of February, 1362, Thomas de Brantyngham was appointed receiver of all the profits arising from the King's mint established there, and about the same time certain privileges and immunities were granted to the officers of the mint similar to those enjoyed by the officers of the mints of London and Canterbury. Money of both gold and silver was now actually coined at Calais in some quantity of the same types and values in all respects as that issued from the London mint during the period of the observance of the treaty of Bretigny. As recorded by Ruding, officers of the mint were appointed in 1371 and 1375 during the reign of Edward III and in 1393 and 1396 under Richard II, while reference is made to the Calais mint in several ordinances of Henry IV. However, no Calais coins have come down

to us corresponding with any English issues subsequent to the 1360-69 period of Edward III's reign until we come to the great annulet coinage, which commenced in 1422, the last year of the reign of Henry V, and was continued well into that of Henry VI. At this period by far the larger portion of the English silver money was issued from the Calais mint, and for many years after, even well into the reign of Edward IV, we have evidence of its abundance in various ordinances, which allude to the Calais groats as being the ordinary type of money then in circulation. This abundance has proportionately come down to our own times, and it is hardly necessary to remark that the ordinary Calais coins of Henry VI are perhaps the commonest of the mediæval English series. As Hawkins entirely excludes the Calais coins from his work, although they were undoubtedly coined for circulation in England only (Calais being then considered an English town and sending two members to the English Parliament), they admit perhaps of a somewhat fuller description even than the London issue. Mr. Neck treated them as English coins in his paper, and described and located all the varieties noticed at the time he wrote, but since then several others have appeared which were apparently unknown to him, and which prove that the mint at Calais was at work, if only in a fitful and feeble way, for some years later than he assumed it to have been, when he wrote that the last coins struck there were of the type corresponding with one of London described by Hawkins under Class III, having the voided cross as mint-mark, and a leaf in the spandril of the tressure under the bust. Owing to the abundance of a great portion of the Calais money and to its being practically identical in type, save for the name of the place of mintage, with the contem-

porary London issues, it has not, perhaps, been very generally noticed how uncommon are almost all the coins of this reign of the earlier issues from the latter mint—some of them being very rare indeed, as I shall endeavour to bring out in dealing with the several coinages in detail, while several varieties that are not very unusual of the Calais mint are unknown from that of London. Towards (presumably) the middle of this reign the coinage from the Calais mint, which until that time had been so abundant, appears to have rapidly fallen off in quantity, and practically almost to have ceased, although there are a few rare examples of small subsequent issues that have appeared since Mr. Neck wrote his paper, which, in conjunction with existing records, prove that the Calais mint did not entirely cease working until quite the latter part of the reign of Henry VI. After the cessation of its great activity, the London mint became much more important, and from about 1440 almost all the silver money was issued from it, but although the varieties to be found are numerous, the quantity of each issue must have been comparatively small, as none of the later coins can be called very common, while many are rare, particularly all denominations smaller than the groat, with perhaps the exception of the half-pennies of some issues.

CLASS I.—ANNULET COINAGE.

In dealing with the coinage of this reign, one serious difficulty is to determine where it actually commences and which are the earliest coins of Henry VI, seeing that such authorities as Neck, Longstaffe, and Hawkins differ decidedly on the question, not to mention others who have at various times written on the subject. In agreement with the latest edition of Hawkins (1887) I believe that

the very rare York annulet coins practically decide this question. The indenture of February 13th of the ninth year of Henry V with Bartholomew Goldbeter only provides for the coining of money in the "Tour de Londres" and the "Ville de Caleys," and it is only by an endorsement of the 16th of February of the first year of Henry VI, or a year afterwards, that provision is specially made for him to coin also at York and Bristol. This endorsement should dispose of the suggestion that York was implicitly included in the original indenture of Henry V, owing to the fact that York pennies are found having the open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse of every reign and period since the time of Edward I. It is now, I believe, generally admitted that there was at York, in addition to the archiepiscopal mint which worked regularly during the reign of each succeeding sovereign, a royal mint which worked intermittently. The former, until the reign of Henry VII, coined pennies only, and these are all distinguished by the well-known open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse. The royal mint, on the contrary, issued all denominations of silver coins, and the quatrefoil is never found upon them. Goldbeter appears to have done nothing at Bristol, and not very much at York, but the little he did at the latter city has given us a pretty certain clue to the type of the earliest coins of the reign of Henry VI. As the indenture of the ninth of Henry V evidently refers to no earlier issue than the annulet coinage, while from the special endorsement as to York on the document, when it was confirmed by the regency in the first year of Henry VI, we know that the existing annulet groats and half-groats, &c., of York were not coined previously, while, in addition, we know

that they must have been struck almost immediately after the granting of the authority, from the fact (as recorded by Ruding) that complaints were made to the Parliament held at Westminster on October 20th of the same year, that Goldbeter, after having been at York and set up his mint there, had since retired, and praying that he might be compelled to return, we may feel certain that these York annulet coins are examples of the first coins struck after the death of Henry V. In addition to their own special distinguishing mark, the lis on either side of the king's neck, they have other peculiar characteristics which will be found to occur on annulet coins from both the London and Calais mints, of what I shall call later type 2 of the early annulet money, and I hope to be able to show that in this type we can identify unmistakably the earliest coins of Henry VI, although, as stated by Hawkins, it is very probable that some of nearly the same type had been issued previous to the death of Henry V, from the mints of both London and Calais. We are without any evidence as to Calais, for in the mint accounts given by Ruding there is no record of any silver coined at this mint previous to the second year of Henry VI. The accounts are, however, stated to be imperfect, and as there is no record of any bullion coined at York, they are so, in this respect at least.

As Mr. Neck truly observes, the annulet coinage is the most difficult to arrange satisfactorily, but I am in hopes that I have found a clue to the classification of the several issues more nearly than has been previously done, and, as I venture to think, of deciding which coins were issued during the last year of the reign of Henry V, and which are those first issued after the accession of his son. The mint-marks on all varieties of the annulet money of every

denomination have been hitherto always described as a pierced cross, or a cross. A careful examination of a number of the coins will, however, show that there are two distinct varieties of the pierced cross, and that the cross, when not pierced, is quite different from the plain cross of previous and succeeding coinages.

The pierced cross of what I shall call Type I is a distinct and clearly defined cross with the limbs square at the extremities, and rather broader than at the intersection, and having a piercing in the centre almost, if not quite, touching the angles formed by the intersection of the limbs.

The pierced cross of the second type is very different, and is formed, as it were, by cutting four quarter circles out of the angles of a square, and has, as before, a central piercing, which, owing to the altered form, is now well within the centre of the cross.

The cross on some of the annulet money of the smaller denominations, when not pierced, has the ends more or less forked, as if a piece in the form of the letter V had been cut out of a square end.

Pierced Cross.



Type I.

Plained Cross.



Type II.



Cross.

The annulet coins with the pierced cross of Type I are evidently the earliest, and are found of both London and Calais, but are less common of Calais than of London. I attribute these coins to Henry V, and believe that they were those first struck by Bartholomew Goldbeter under the authority of the enactment of the second Parliament of the year 1421 (the 9th year of Henry V), which met

at Westminster on December 1st, and of the subsequent indenture dated Feb. 13th, 1422. Henry V died on the 31st of August of the same year, but there was time before his death to do a good deal, and probably no time was lost owing to the urgent need of remedying the great scarcity and bad condition of the currency, which was at that time causing much trouble and discontent among the people. Goldbeter would naturally place the Tower mint in working order before proceeding to Calais; and it would have been active longer than the latter mint at the death of Henry V, thus accounting for the London groats at least being more common than those of Calais, which are, in fact, not very easy to obtain. I now come to the coins with the pierced cross of Type II as a mint-mark, which I believe to be those first issued after the accession of Henry VI. As the authority conferred by the original indenture would lapse with the death of Henry V, and was not renewed by the Regency until the 16th of February following, or an interval of nearly six months, it is probable that work at both the London and Calais mints ceased during this time.

With the renewal of his authority and with its extension to York and Bristol, Goldbeter would appear to have made a new departure with fresh dies, which, while resembling very closely (although not exactly) those of the last issue, have all the pierced cross of Type II as a mint-mark, and I submit that this is the distinguishing mark of the earliest coins of the reign of Henry VI. We are practically certain that the York annulet groats and half-groats were struck by authority of the renewed indenture of the first of Henry VI, and all the known specimens, together with the corresponding penny and halfpenny, have the No. 2 Type of pierced cross as

mint-mark. It might be expected that some change in the way of a special mark would be introduced with the first issue of the new reign, and here we have one clearly identified with its very commencement. Of these York coins, which are all extremely rare, there are three groats in the British Museum [Pl. VIII. 3] and there was one in the Neck and Webb collections. Two half-groats only appear to be known. One was in the Montagu collection and is illustrated in one of the catalogue plates; the other is now in the Lawrence, and was previously in the Rostron collection. The only penny that I can trace is in the British Museum. It is in poor condition, and has a piece broken out of the edge. The halfpenny [Pl. VIII. 4] also appears to be unique, and is now in my own collection, having previously been in the Shepherd and Montagu cabinets. All these coins, from the groat to the halfpenny, have as mint-mark the pierced cross of Type II, which is in all cases clearly shown. They can only have been struck during a very short period, as according to Ruding, in the Parliament held at Westminster on October 20th of the year 1423, or only eight months after the authority was given, the Commons of the northern counties petitioned the King and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, "that the master and workers of the King's monies who had been at York and there set up his mint, to the great profit of the King and the said counties, but had since with his workmen retired from thence, shall be commanded to return to the same city and to remain or leave sufficient deputies during the King's pleasure."

This petition reveals the short time that Goldbeter remained at York, and incidentally accounts for the rarity of the coins themselves, while it also fixes the time of their issue.

The York type (if I may call it so), which I will assume to be of the first coinage of Henry VI, was also issued from both the London and Calais mints, and here we find in regard to rarity a reversal of what is found in the previous issue. The Calais coins are fairly common, but those of London are scarcer. The York groats, as well as those of London and Calais of the same type, all read $\pi\theta\theta\lambda\theta\theta$, a reading considered by some to belong exclusively to the coins of Henry V, but which assuming the York coins to belong to Henry VI, was evidently continued into the reign of the latter. Of this earliest issue of Henry VI there are groats, half-groats, pence and half-pence of London, York, and Calais, all with the No. 2 Type of pierced cross. The York half-groats, as well as some of those of London and Calais of the same type, have eleven arches to the tressure, similar to coins of Henry V of the same denomination. The groats all show the well-known swelling on the neck, also a feature long supposed to be identified with the coins of Henry V.

There are pennies of the early annulet coinage from the York archiepiscopal mint, and also of Durham, which latter have not, I think, been correctly ascribed, either by Hawkins or Mr. Neck. The former discredits a coin illustrated in Ruding as being either forged or altered, owing to its reading $\pi\theta\theta\lambda\theta\theta$, and having an annulet in two quarters of the reverse. It is evidently carelessly drawn, and the annulet shown between the pellets in two quarters should only be in one. Probably one quarter was obliterated, and the artist drew what he thought should be there. The final θ in $\pi\theta\theta\lambda\theta\theta$ was also probably invisible, and was consequently omitted altogether. Apart from these, easily to be accounted for, inaccuracies, coins of this type certainly exist [Pl. X. 3]. They have

the mullet to left and annulet to right of the crown, and an annulet between the pellets in one quarter of the reverse. The mint-mark is indistinct on the specimens I have seen, and therefore it is, according to my theory, uncertain as to whether they belong to the end of Henry V's reign or to the beginning of that of Henry VI. The latter appears to be more probable, as the type of bust exactly resembles that of the York type of the annulet pence. Mr. Neck gives this coin to the early part of the reign of Henry V, but describes the annulet at right of crown as broken, which it certainly is not on the specimen which I have. These pence are undoubtedly of the annulet coinage, and as this was undertaken so near to the end of the reign of Henry V, it seems most probable that any Durham annulet coins would be struck under Henry VI.

Having, as I hope, shown the most probable method of identifying the earliest coins of Henry VI, I propose to follow the issues subsequent to the annulet coinage in accordance with the arrangement of the 1887 or later edition of Hawkins, thus being able to avoid as much unnecessary repetition as possible. In regard to the Calais coins of which Hawkins takes no notice, I shall supplement what has been said by Mr. Neck in regard to them, by describing certain coins apparently unknown to him at the time he wrote.

The annulet coins, of what I have called the York type and which on the groats all read *ANGLIÆ* in the obverse legend, were followed by a variety of nearly similar type but reading (on the groats) *ANGLI*, and with the arch of treasure on the breast not fleured [Pl. VIII. 7]. The egg-shaped swelling on the neck still continues on the busts and the mint-mark is the pierced cross of Type 2. The coins of this type are of London and Calais and are all

rather rare, particularly those of London. The only half-groat which I can attribute to this issue is of London; it has a broader and larger bust than the first variety of annulet half-groats, but like them has the reverse legend ending *ADMIVTORIÆ*; and without any cross before *POSVI*. The obverse mint-mark is a cross of the type shown previously with slightly forked ends [PL. X. 5]. I have a London penny also of, I believe, this issue [PL. X. 6]. The bust is unlike either the succeeding or preceding type, but otherwise there is no special feature to describe. These coins correspond with Mr. Neek's type 2 of the annulet money, but he describes no half-groats, and the Calais penny, which he gives, appears to have a London obverse, while he gives to London for this issue that with the *DI GRA* legend and no annulets on the reverse. These rare *DI GRA* pence certainly resemble very closely the earliest annulet type as to the bust, and the crown has the little points between the fleur-de-lys terminating in balls as on the annulet pence, and differing thus from the early coins of Henry V. I should be inclined to attribute these *DI GR^A* pence to the end of Henry V's reign. Possibly they are a few of the first coins struck by Bartholomew Goldbeter before the distinguishing annulet mark was adopted. They are of neat workmanship and well struck, and thus differ from most of the other pence of Henry V. Returning from this digression we come to the third and last type of annulet money, which from the Calais mint is (with the exception of the halfpence) so extremely common even down to the present time. Of the London mint, however, the groats are scarce, and the lesser denominations so rare that Mr. Neek states that he had not seen them. The characteristics of this issue are on the groat [see Pl. VIII. 8 and 9], a more youthful

portrait with smaller neck with a tube-like line in centre and more spreading shoulders than before. The half-groats differ from the preceding ones in having the reverse legend preceded by a plain cross and ending π DIVTOR π M ν SM instead of π DIVTOR π M ν SM. The obverse mint-mark is the cross before described. The Calais groats and half-groats of this issue are very common indeed. The only exception, and indeed the only variety that I know of which is not of a transition nature, is a groat which on the reverse has no annulets between the pellets in any quarter, while having one in the normal position after POSVI. There is a specimen of this coin in the British Museum, which, although described in Hawkins' *Anglo-Gallic Coins*, was not noted by Mr. Neck. I have only seen one other specimen of this groat, which must be very rare. The Calais pence are a little less common than the larger pieces, while the half-pence are scarce. Of the London mint the groats are the only pieces not very difficult to obtain, and even they are decidedly scarce. Of the half-groat I have only seen one specimen [Pl. X. 7], the National Collection being without one. Those described by Hawkins are, from their reverse legend, of the earlier variety, which I have called the York Type. The penny is also very rare. It only differs from the last type in the bust, which is fuller in the face. As to the annulet half-pence it is rather uncertain to which variety they are to be attributed, but although not common, they appear to be much less rare than the pence and half-groats of the second and third varieties. There are York pence of the archiepiscopal mint having an annulet between the pellets in one quarter of the reverse similar to those of Durham, and also one after CIVITAS. These have on the obverse a mullet to the left and a fleur-de-

lys to the right of the crown. Others have a trefoil in place of the lys. The former I attribute to the period of the second and third annulet issues, and the latter probably to a transition type to which I am about to allude.

From the scarceness of the annulet coins of the London mint, particularly of the later variety, which is on the contrary so abundant of Calais, it would appear that almost the whole of the money for circulation in the kingdom must at the end of this period have been coined at the latter mint. This idea would seem to be borne out by the fact that there are two transitional types of annulet money of Calais, of which there are no London counterparts. The first is the variety called by Mr. Neck the annulet trefoil coinage, on which the annulets still continue at each side of the King's neck on the obverse and in one quarter only of the reverse on the groats and half-groats, but on the pence [PL VIII. 9] (which were unknown to Mr. Neck) they continue in two quarters as before. The variation now introduced consists in a small trefoil being placed on the left side of the King's crown on the groats and pence [PL X. 9] and after POSVI on the reverse in place of the former annulet. It is a little curious that the trefoil is omitted from the obverse of the half-groat, but appears on the reverse in the same position as on the groat. It may be noted that on the groats of this issue the pierced cross before POSVI is for the first time superseded by the plain cross, which latter retains the same position through several subsequent coinages. These coins are all scarce, particularly the pence. A noticeable feature of this issue is that it does not form a connecting link with the subsequent one, the trefoil entirely disappearing after a very short existence until a much later period. There are a few York pence of the archiepiscopal mint having

an annulet between the pellets in one quarter of the reverse and with a trefoil to the right of the crown in place of the lis on other annulet pence of the same mint. These may, I think, be considered possibly to belong to the same period as the annulet trefoil coins of Calais.

The last variety of Calais groats [PL. VIII. 19] and half-groats having still the annulets on either side of the King's neck is of a distinctly transitional character, connecting the annulet coinage with the succeeding rosette masche coinage. This variety is also scarce. On the obverse the trefoil of the last-described groats is omitted, and it is thus the same in all respects as the former annulet coins. On the reverse, however, the annulet entirely disappears, both from its position between the pellets and after POSVI. A pierced rosette of five foils is now placed after POSVI and CALISI*H*. Another sign of transition on some of the half-groats of this variety is in the fuller spelling of the mint name. Up to now and even on part of these half-groats it is spelt CALIS*I*, but now for the first time it reads on some CALIS*H*. There appear to be no pence which can be in any way identified with this transition type, and there are no London or other coins of any denomination.

CLASS II.—ROSETTE MASCHE COINAGE.

The coins of this issue, particularly the groats, have a rather different bust of the king, altogether larger and with longer neck. The groats of this and the succeeding issues are usually of larger diameter than those of the annulet issue.

The rosette, which appeared on the last annulet issue on the reverse only, now appears on the obverse also,

between the words of the legend, but on the Calais coins, at least, it is always accompanied by a new distinguishing mark, the masche or open lozenge.

The rosette masche coinage marks the second distinct period in the coinage of the reign of Henry VI, and there was both a Calais and a London issue. The former is very abundant, but the latter is very rare in all denominations excepting, perhaps, the groats; even these, however, are rather rare. There are also pence from the episcopal mints of York and Durham. This coinage may be divided into two periods. The first still retains the same mint-marks as the later annulet coins: viz., for the groats the pieced cross of Type 2, and the half-groats and pence the cross with forked ends  as on the annulet coins, and the reverse the plain cross noted on the transitional issues of Calais. The Calais groats have rosettes on the obverse after every word except REX, after which a masche occurs. On the reverse a rosette occurs after POSVI and CALISIA, while a masche is placed after VIL and L π . The Calais half-groats are exactly similar, while the pence have a rosette after HIRRIUS and a masche after REX, and on the reverse a masche between VIL and L π and a rosette after CALISIA. Calais farthings are known of this issue only and are very rare [see Pl. X. 14]. The London groats and half-groats of the first rosette masche type differ from those of Calais in having neither rosettes nor masches on the obverse [Pl. VIII. 2], but on the reverse they are found in the same position as on the Calais coins, and a rosette after POSVI and LONDOR, and on the groats there is a masche before LOR. On one half-groat there is no masche [Pl. X. 11]. Hawkins, in the latest edition of 1887, states that no London penny is known on which a rosette

appears. I have, however, one in my cabinet exactly corresponding with the groat and half-groat of this issue and having a masculo before and a rosette after LONDOR. [see Pl. X. 10]. I know of no other specimen and so far I think mine is unique. Of presumably this period is a Durham penny having the mint-mark a plain cross with a large mullet to the left of the crown, said to be the badge of Cardinal Langley, Bishop of Durham from 1406 to 1437. This coin is figured in Hawkins (332) [Pl. X. 13].

The second period of the rosette masculo coinage is distinguished by a change in the obverse mint-mark. The pierced cross now disappears and for the first time we have the cross fleury, which has, I think, been erroneously called the cross patonce of heraldry, and which continues to be generally used in nearly all the later issues of this reign. The Calais coins of this issue [see Pl. VIII. 12] with the latter mint-mark are in other respects similar to those previously described with rosettes and masculos on both obverse and reverse. All are common or very common excepting the halfpence and farthings, the latter being rare. The coins of the London mint are similar to those of Calais, differing from those with the pierced cross mint-mark in having the rosettes and masculos in the obverse legend, which are absent in the earlier coins [Pl. VIII. 13]. There are groats and half-groats of London, both rare, the latter especially so. A penny is not at present known, but halfpence are described by Hawkins.

There are Durham and York pence from the episcopal mints corresponding with this issue in its principal characteristics. Those of Durham have the cross fleury mint-mark with a rosette after HIRRICVS and a

mascle after REX, and on the reverse a mascle after DVROLORI. There are no marks at the sides of the head or crown [PL X. 15]. The York pence have the same characteristics on the obverse, and in addition have a mullet at each side of the crown. On the reverse there is usually a rosette before EBORACII and a mascle between CIVI and TKS. Some of these pence appear from their neat workmanship to be struck from London-made dies, while others are of barbarous character, suggesting local make or that they possibly may be contemporary forgeries. They appear, however, to be of good silver and weight.

In describing the general characteristics of the coins of this issue I have noted the usual position of the distinguishing marks of the rosette and mascle, but they are occasionally in different positions in the legends, although probably only by accident.

CLASS III.—PINE-CONE MASCLE COINAGE.

This is the last of the three really abundant coinages of this reign, and, like the two previous ones, would appear to have been continued for some time, although the coins are rather less common in general than those of either the annulet or rosette mascle coinages. It is also to be noted that the London groats at least, unlike those of the two previous issues, are fairly common, while the half-groats, although still rather rare, are probably less so than of any other coinage of Henry VI subsequent to the earliest annulet issue. There is not much difference in the king's portrait, although an evolutionary process may be observed by careful examination and comparison. The mascle is still retained in the same positions as on the

coins of the last issue, but the rosette is replaced in the same position by an object which has now been generally accepted as being a pine-cone, which it probably is.

In passing, it may be interesting to note in this connection that at this period a certain type of conventional ornament, which has been variously supposed to be derived from the pineapple, the artichoke, or the pine-cone, possibly all three, in different cases, was very prevalent, and formed the basis of design for much architectural carving and woven silk materials, ecclesiastical embroidery, decorative painting, &c. This pine-cone should be regarded as quite a distinct object from another that appears later, and which on coins sharply struck and not worn is distinctly seen to be a leaf; but of this later. Mr. Neck describes a rosette pine-cone coinage, but these coins are probably only the result of an obverse and reverse die of the pine-cone and the rosette coinage being used together [Pl. X. 16]. I have examples of both an obverse and a reverse of the pine-cone type, with the corresponding reverse and obverse of the previous type, which would tend to prove that those coins are simply mules, and not entitled to be considered a distinct issue. It is perhaps remarkable that groats, half-groats, and pence of this type are known of London, and groats and pence at least of Calais. In connection with the pine-cone coinage, a very remarkable mule occurs, of which there is a specimen in the National Collection, and I myself have another. It is struck from an obverse die of the pine-cone mace coinage and a reverse die of the annulet coinage, and is the only example I have heard of in which two dies of non-consecutive issues have been used together.

All denominations of coins (except probably farthings)

of the pine-cone masole coinage are found from the London mint. The pence are rare and the half-groats fairly so, but the groats and halfpence are common. The Calais groats [Pl. IX. 1] are common, but the half-groats, pence and halfpence become scarcer with this issue, and the first symptoms of the decline of the Calais mint thus become apparent. Of this issue there is a remarkable York penny with no quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse. This coin would thus appear to be struck at the royal mint, although we have no other evidence of its being at work at this time. Hawkins describes a penny of this type in the Pownall collection, with a pine-cone after CIVI on the reverse. I myself have one with a pine-cone after HENRICVS and a masole after REX, with mint-mark cross-fleury and a rosette on the breast. Other York pence, resembling in general character this last coin, but with the quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse, are attributed by Hawkins, and probably rightly so, to this issue, although they are without the pine-cone, while having a masole after REX on the obverse and after CIVI on the reverse. They have small crosses either upright or in saltire at the sides of the head [Pl. X. 19], which the pennies of the other type have not.

It is, as I have previously remarked, during the period of the pine-cone masole coinage that we notice the first symptoms of a decrease in the quantity of coins from the Calais mint. Petitions are recorded (as noted by Ruding) to have been presented to the King in Parliament in 1437 and 1442, which show that the mint was not then so prosperous as it had formerly been. The dates of these petitions probably come approximately within the duration of the issue under consideration, which, for reasons given later, I should fix at from 1435 to 1440,

or perhaps a year or so later. To about the date of the petition of 1442 I should attribute the groats which Mr. Neck describes as being the last he had seen from the Calais mint, and he rightly describes them as rare. There are, however, as we now know, some of still later issues which are still more rare. The groats in question of Calais correspond with a very distinct and rare issue of London, which has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed before, the groats alone being only incidentally alluded to by Hawkins as varieties of the pine-cone coinage. The issue could only have been a small one and of brief duration, following the pine-cone coinage [Pl. IX. 3 and 4], but possibly after some interval. It resembles it in some particulars, but is distinctively different generally. Its characteristics are, on the groats for mint-mark a cross voided in place of the cross-fleury in use for some time previously, and with the exception of this issue, on all subsequent ones up to the dethronement of Henry VI, no pine-cones appear, but the masche after REX on the obverse, and either before or in the middle of the mint-name on the reverse, is still retained. In addition, a new distinctive mark is now found, which on well-struck coins can be seen to be unmistakably a leaf with stalk and central and lateral fibres distinctly showing, and quite a different object from the previous pine-cone. On the groats this leaf is of fairly large size, and is placed in the spandril of the treure under the bust, and partially overlapping the point of the cusp. On the reverse it is at the end of the mint-name in conjunction with a small saltire stop, and generally overlaps the beaded circle between the outer and inner legend. I have one Calais groat on which the leaf also occurs after POSVI [Pl. IX. 4], but this is exceptional, all others that I have seen

being without any mark after POSVI, which is, however, always preceded by the same plain cross, as on the pine-cone issue. A groat in my collection has a reverse of this type with an ordinary pine-cone obverse, thus showing a connecting link between the two issues. Of Calais there are groats only of this type, but of London I can instance half-groats, pence, and half-pence, all very rare, the halfpennies being least so. All have for mint-marks a plain cross with slightly forked ends, a leaf partly under and partly on the bust of the King. The half-groat [Pl. X. 18] has, in addition to the leaf in the spandril under the bust, single leaves after HENRICI and II, and two leaves, one turning each way, after ERIC. There is also on the reverse a leaf after DOR, overlapping the beaded circle in an exactly similar manner to the groat. There are no mascles on this half-groat. The penny has a leaf after HENRICIVS, as well as on the breast of the King, but no mark on the reverse. The halfpence have a leaf after HENRICI. I should like to call this the rose-leaf issue, as a distinguishing name, if it would not too much disturb existing arrangements, which would probably be thought undesirable.

At this point I will ask leave to make two digressions, as we have now come to the end of the three first and by far the largest coinages of this reign, after which, probably owing to the increasingly disturbed state of the kingdom, the coinage appears to have been very irregular, and to consist of comparatively small and intermittent issues. The first digression is a reference to the mint accounts as recorded by Ruding, which, although stated to be incomplete, give what appears to be, in the light of the coins that have come down to our times, a fairly accurate statement as to

the proportion of bullion coined at the mints of London and Calais respectively during the earlier part of this reign, and from which I think it possible to approximately fix the dates and duration of the first two great issues which I have been describing.

We find that the whole of the silver coined at Calais is included in the mint accounts ending with the 11th year of Henry VI, and I here give from Rading the amounts recorded to have been coined both at Calais and London respectively up to that date :

London.			Calais.				
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1422 to 1424	6,924	0	10	1423 to 1427	67,745	4	10
	<small>lbs. oz. dwt.</small>				<small>lbs. oz. dwt.</small>		
1424 to 1431	4,919	9	10	1427 to 1431	89,660	9	10
1432 to 1433	1,466	9	10	1433	26,182	10	0

After 1433, or the 11th year of Henry VI, the mint accounts record no further bullion coined at Calais, and none at the London mint until the eighteenth year of the reign. I think it may be considered probable that the records up to 1433 include the first two out of the three great coinages which we have been considering, and allowing for possible incompleteness in the accounts, we may from these particulars approximately date these two great issues. I therefore suggest the period of—

The Annulet Coinage, earlier types 1 and 2,	1422 to 1424
" latest type . . .	1424 to 1428
The Rosette Macele Coinage . . .	1428 to 1435

After the 11th and until the 18th year of Henry VI, there is, as we have seen, a blank in the mint accounts which appears almost certainly to indicate that some important records of this period must be missing. I believe that they must be the whole of those referring to

the pine-cone mace coinage, which various circumstances tend to locate approximately between 1435 and 1440. The first petition of the Commons in reference to the Calais mint was in 1437, which would bear out my remarks as to the decreasing proportion of coins of the pine-cone coinage from that mint, assuming that this issue was being struck at this period. It is, of course, possible that all the three first coinages occurred during the first eleven years of Henry VI, but in that case there would, according to the mint accounts, be an interval of seven years before the fourth or trefoil coinage, which seems unlikely, and is rendered the more improbable by the existence of mules between the third or pine-cone coinage and the fourth or trefoil coinage, which would hardly be possible if the two were separated by such a long interval.

The second digression that I desire to make is on the subject of "galley halfpennies." During this and previous reigns, but more often in this, we are struck in studying Ruding by the numerous enactments against the currency of these coins, which must, from the frequent references to them, have been in very general use and in large quantities, for, notwithstanding all attempts to stop their circulation, we find strong measures were necessary in regard to them well into the reign of Henry VIII. Ruding states that these galley halfpennies derived their name from their being imported by the Genoese and Venetian merchants in their galleys, but he does not attempt to say what sort of coins they were. It seems to be assumed that notwithstanding their abundance at the period we are discussing, they have since so totally disappeared that no trace of them can be discovered at the present time. This I venture to suggest is quite a mistake. So far as I am aware, no satisfactory explana-

tion has, so far, been forthcoming as to the use of the so-called Nuremberg counters. The suggestion of their being counters seems only to be accepted for want of some better explanation, and I think this may be found if we identify them with the galley halfpence of the Middle Ages. They exist of types which from their character and design we can appropriate to all periods, from those of Edward I, II and III to that of Henry VIII and later, and their abundance and wide distribution is another reason for my attribution of them. The galley halfpence were used in other countries as well as our own, and it would be astonishing if counters for any purpose whatever could have been so universally required in such large numbers, and I hope the Society may see in my suggestion a way to the settlement of an interesting question.¹

To return to the main subject of this paper, we have now come to about the middle of Henry VI's reign, when the effects of the rivalries of his relatives and councillors during his long minority were beginning to be disastrously felt. The turn of the tide in France had well set in. The French King had triumphantly entered Paris in 1437, after it had for many years been under the domination of England—during that time Henry himself had been solemnly crowned in Notre-Dame as King of France; but now even Normandy and the provinces of Aquitaine and Guyenne were held precariously, only to be entirely lost within the next few years. Henry himself

¹ I am glad to find that some such views as I now put forward have been already formed by the numismatic authorities at the British Museum; although I had not heard of them before, and nothing of the sort had, as far as I am aware, been published.

had reached the age of manhood and showed no signs of any of his father's qualities. He was on the contrary weak and swayed alternately by the advice of various counsellors all seeking their own ends and regardless of the welfare of the country. Popular discontent at the conduct of the French wars and of affairs generally now also began to be seriously felt. This generally disturbed condition made itself felt even on the coinage : during the latter half of his reign much less money would appear to have been coined, and both from the mint accounts given by Ruding, and from the coins that have come down to us we see that although there were many issues they were all small, or comparatively so. This is particularly noticeable between his eleventh and thirty-eighth year. It will also be remarked that the coins of these later issues are as a rule more or less carelessly and imperfectly struck, and in marked contrast in these respects to the coins of the large early coinages. I will here quote from Ruding the mint accounts of the silver bullion coined later than the eleventh year until the thirty-eighth, after which there is no further record. All the accounts refer to the London mint only.

Amount of silver coined in the London mint after 1433 :—

1433-40 (no accounts)	lbs.	oz.	dwt.
1440-41	2,751	8	10
1445-46	207	3	0
1447	88	7	5
1448-50	651	2	15
1451-52	9,980	5	17
1453-54	9,605	5	5
1454-56	5,469	10	0
1459-60	8,108	2	0

A careful examination of these accounts of bullion coined, together with a study of the coins we have,

would almost lead us to suppose that, with the exception of the interval between the eleventh and eighteenth year, together with any Calais accounts after the pine-cone coinage, the records are nearly, if not quite complete, and I should be inclined to think that each of the accounts, which Rading describes as "in bundles in the Tower," represents the total amount of bullion coined during each of the separate issues, which, by their mint-marks and other special characteristics, were no doubt confined to certain dates. The large amounts for Henry's first eleven years would clearly be identified with the annulet and rosette coinages. The long interval between 1433 and 1440 for which the accounts are not forthcoming would account for the pine-cone coinage, and those from 1440 to 1460 agree very well with the number of small issues of which we have evidence during that period. Hawkins and others have divided these into three groups, Classes IV, V, and VI, but they could be divided into a considerably larger number. Unlike the first three great issues, of which the London and Calais coins, at least, are all practically identical in type and details, the later issues after the pine-cone coinage present a very large variety of types and details, it being not very easy to find two coins exactly alike, either in the style of the bust or the position and character of the distinguishing marks. All the coins of these later issues must have been rare previous to the great find of coins at Stamford in 1866, the number of which exceeded 3,000. Unfortunately, no careful account of this find appears to have been written by anyone at the time, but I have been told by one who saw the greater part of the coins that although there was a certain considerable number of Henry VI's groats of later issues, the bulk was of the earlier coinages. The coins of the

Later issues were, however, mostly in mint condition, and amongst them were several varieties previously unknown, notably a few from the Calais mint, which proved it to have been at work, in a small way at least, much later than had been previously supposed.

CLASS IV.—PIXE-CONE TREFOIL COINAGE.

To resume the regular consideration of the consecutive issues of the latter half of this reign, we must recall that we left off with the small and rare issue of which the distinguishing marks were on the groats a cross voided, as mint-mark, and a leaf in the spandril of the trefoil under the bust. The muscle was still retained in both the obverse and reverse legends. It had survived several changes, and throughout several issues, but it gives way at last to a new mark—the trefoil, which also had a considerable run, and like the muscle appears on several varieties of coins unlike in other respects. All coins with the trefoil in any position are however classed by Hawkins as one coinage, although they vary in general type as much, if not more, than any on which the muscle appears. None are common, and I think that the several varieties to which I shall allude may very probably be the coins of the issues to which the mint accounts refer between 1445 and 1452. The earliest groat with a trefoil is a distinct connecting link with what I have tentatively called the rose-leaf issue, but it is an evolutionary type and not a mule. The mint-mark of the voided cross disappears and the previous cross-fleury is restored. A small leaf with fibres carefully indicated is placed after HENRIET, DI, and GRAN on the obverse, but a trefoil takes the place long occupied by the muscle after REX. On the

reverse, the plain cross mint-mark is continued, the muscle still lingers on in one of small and unassuming proportions between CIVI and TAS—and there is a leaf before and a trefoil after LONDON [see PL IX. 5]. The coins which I should place next in order are still of a transitional character [Pl. IX. 6]. The leaf appears in the obverse legend as on the last coin and the trefoil after REX. On the reverse, however, the muscle no longer appears at all, but the trefoil in addition to appearing after LONDON, is sometimes found at the end or between the words of the outer legend. There are half-groats corresponding practically in all respects with these groats, but they are very rare. There is one in the National Collection and I have another myself. These earliest coins with the trefoil, like all those of Henry VI since the earliest annulet issue, have the cusp of tressure on the breast unfleured, but now a new and special feature is introduced of a leaf terminating the point of the cusp. This leaf is quite distinct and different from those on the rose-leaf groats. These latter are large and are in the spandril of the tressure under the bust. The leaf now introduced is smaller and forms a termination to the point of the cusp. The first groats presenting this new feature are exactly similar to those preceding them. The trefoil and leaf occupy the same positions in the obverse and reverse legends, and there is no variation in any other characteristic. There are half-groats, pence and halfpence corresponding to the groats of this type, but all are very rare. I may here mention that occasionally on all varieties of coins on which the trefoil appears, its position in the legends and that also of the leaf slightly vary. This is probably only due to accident or carelessness, and is not, I think, worth taking into consideration as a variation in type. The coins of the last

type described, I should like to call the rose-leaf trefoil coinage. We now come to what may be called the trefoil coinage proper. The leaf now entirely disappears from the legends of the obverse and with rare exceptions of the reverse, and retains only its position invariably at the point of the cusp on the breast. The main feature of this issue is a rather large trefoil at each side of the neck of the King's bust, with a trefoil in the obverse legend usually after REX, but on some examples it is placed at the end of the legend or omitted altogether. On the reverse of the London groats it is sometimes placed after LONDOR, but perhaps quite as often omitted entirely. No half-groats, pence or haltpence are known having the trefoil at the sides of the neck of the bust, although a London penny has a trefoil after the King's name [Pl. X. 21]. It has been generally assumed that by this time the Calais mint had ceased to coin silver. This is, however, an erroneous idea, as Calais groats of the trefoil coinage, although very rare, are now known [Pl. IX. 8]. Three in the National Collection are from the Stamford find, and probably nearly all the other known specimens are from the same source; although it is to be noted that Sainthill describes one in a list he gives of the groats of Henry IV, V, and VI in his own collection. It is curious, and points to the strong probability of the Calais mint having been long idle, that no coins of any of the transitional types similar to those from the London mint occur. Although there are several instances of mules due to the employment of an obverse die of the full pine-cone coinage with a reverse die of the full trefoil coinage [see Pl. IX. 7], which would point to there having been no intermediate issues, while the fact of there being several distinctly intermediate types of London and, as far

as I can discover, no instance of mules like those of Calais, would strongly point to there having been, as we assume, a considerable interval between the pine-cone and the trefoil coinages.

Those interesting and rare Calais groats of the trefoil coinage display the characteristic mark more freely than those of London. In addition to the trefoils at sides of the King's neck, they occur in the obverse legend after DI and GR π , or on some after REX instead of GR π . On the reverse trefoils occur between VII and I π , after C π ALISIG and after ADIVTORI π . In one case the trefoil is after VILLI π only, and in another in the middle instead of at the end of C π ALISIG. It is to be noted that these groats read AD π S π , instead of the invariable ARGL of the London mint. The piedfort of the Calais groat of the trefoil coinage is in the British Museum, and is considerably worn. On the one described by Sainthill he gives the reading HARRI π V. Of the mules to which I have alluded, I know of three, two in the British Museum, and one in my own cabinet. All have a regular pine-cone obverse with trefoil reverses, as just described, but all appear to be from different dies, as the number and position of the trefoils in the mint name vary on each one. This would rather show that probably from motives of economy, the mint being at the time in an impoverished condition, a number of old obverse dies were purposely made use of to save expense. Another peculiarity of the Calais trefoil groat is that the reverse mint-mark is for the first time a cross-fleury, while those of London still continue the plain cross, so long in use, or have none at all. I have, it is true, one London groat with a cross-fleury on the reverse, but it is quite exceptional, and the only instance I have seen. In Ruding's description of

places of mints and exchange, he states that a certain Giles Seyntlowe, Armiger, was, in May, 1437, appointed Controller of the Town of Calais and of the mint there, but that, owing to some irregularity in the letters patent, he did not obtain possession until November of the same year. In 1444 he resigned his patent into Chancery, and the King granted him a new one. This would seem to imply that although he had no doubt tried to make the appointment profitable, the decayed state of the mint (of which we have evidence in the petition of the Commons in 1442) rendered it impossible, and he probably obtained his patent of 1444 on terms which he hoped would prove more advantageous. This would be about the date to which we may almost certainly attribute the Calais groats of the trefoil coinage, and they probably represent a sort of spurt that was put on in Seyntlowe's no doubt unsuccessful endeavour to revive the prosperity and profits of the mint. In 1445 other officers of the mint appear to have been appointed, probably owing to Seyntlowe's want of success, and again others in 1446. However, Seyntlowe (now spelt Seynclowe) was again appointed in 1452, which seems to imply that those who had previously succeeded him had not done as well as even he had. Of this last appointment I shall have more to say presently.

To return to the London coins of the trefoil coinage. During what I consider its later phases the trefoil is retained at the sides of the bust, but with rare exceptions disappears from both obverse and reverse legends. One curious variety has the trefoil on either side of the bust so placed as to form terminals to the cusp points in place of the ordinary fleurs [see Pl. IX. 10]. Another scarce type of this issue has the small spandrels between the circle

and the cusps of the tressure filled by pointed trefoils representing the piercings of architectural tracery [Pl. IX. 9], as on the reverse of the nobles and half-nobles. There are three specimens of this coin in the National Collection, all from the Stamford find, previous to which it was probably unknown. The latest groats of this coinage have a pellet at each side of the crown and occasionally in two quarters of the reverse, thus forming a connecting link with the succeeding coinage. The various issues of the trefoil coinage may with a fair degree of certainty be placed between 1440 and 1450. The mint accounts for this period show several small amounts of bullion coined in different years, which may correspond with and account for the rather numerous varieties of coins upon which the trefoil appears, which previous to the Stamford find must have been of considerable rarity, and of which even now specimens are not in any instance common.

There are a few groats which Hawkins places at the end of Class IV, but which are very difficult to locate satisfactorily. They have no characteristic marks whatever on the obverse. The mint-mark is a cross-fleury, the cusp of tressure on breast is not fleury, and there is no leaf on the breast. On the reverse there is no mint-mark, but there is a small additional pellet in each quarter [see Pl. IX. 12]. Some specimens have only the additional pellet in two quarters. The pellets appear to connect these groats with the next coinage, but the absence of a leaf on the breast and the style of bust are more suggestive of their issue shortly after the pine-cone period. Perhaps these groats may belong to one of the small issues of 1445-46 or 1447, as they are very rare. I believe that all the specimens of these groats were derived from the Stamford find.

CLASS V.—PINE-CONE PELLET COINAGE.

The trefoil now entirely disappears, but the small pellets which we found on some of the coins of the issue and the leaf on the breast remain and form the distinguishing marks of the next period. A decided change takes place in the bust, which is placed higher up and has a shorter neck, showing more of the breast, which is indicated by two strongly defined arched lines. On the London coins the mint-mark continues to be the cross-fluey, but on the reverse there is none. The earliest examples of groats without the trefoil have only the pellets at each side of the crown on the obverse, but the usual type is that having them in two quarters of the reverse as well. The few varieties of this type which we find are, I believe, unintentional and merely due to the irregular and careless spacing out of the letters. We have, for instance, some without a mint-mark at all, but this appears to be solely due to want of space. The usual inscription of these groats with the leaf or the point of the cusp of the treasure on the breast continues to be *HENRICI DI GRAN BREXI MNGI Z FRANC[IA]* (PL. XI 1); the latter word is, however, at times variously spelt *FRANC*, *FRAN*, *FRANG*, and *FRANDI* (M. B.). I should locate this issue at about 1450, and probably the rather large amount of bullion (for these later issues) given in the mint accounts for 1451-52 (9,980 lbs.) was employed in its coinage.

In connection with this coinage we find for the last time a groat from the Calais mint. From its being in mint condition, I believe it to have come from the Stamford find, and I have neither seen nor heard of another like it. This groat resembles in all respects those which I have just been describing of London, with the exception that

there are no pellets either at the sides of the crown or additional ones in any quarters of the reverse [PL. XI. 2]. It has a cross-fleury mint-mark before POSVI, which is very unusual for this coinage, although I have alluded to an exceptional London groat with the same characteristic. It has no distinguishing mark either in the legend or elsewhere save the leaf on the point of the cusp under the breast. It is noticeable that the first four letters of CALISIE appear to be struck over CIVI or SIVI, which would rather indicate that the makers of the dies were now so unaccustomed to make any for Calais that they found it difficult to avoid punching the letters of the (at this period) almost invariable CIVITAS LONDOR. I consider this groat of the greatest interest, as it proves that the Calais mint coined at least a small amount of money up to quite late in the reign of Henry VI and considerably after the date of any other known examples.

I alluded previously to the re-appointment, in 1452, for the third time, and after some considerable interval, of Giles Seyntlowe, or Seynchilowe, to the mastership of the Calais mint, and as from the few records we have, we may infer that he was a man of some energy, I think we may not improbably assume this groat to be a specimen of a small issue resulting from an attempt by him to restore the activity and prosperity of the mint. It must by this time, however, have been in a very bad way indeed, and probably too far decayed to make permanent revival possible, for we read in Ruding that in the Parliament of 1454 the Commons represented that for want of enforcing the statutes relating to the staple at Calais, the mint there was like to stand void, desolate, and to be destroyed. This groat then, I think, we may safely assume to be one of the very last that was issued from the Calais mint, and

that its date is between 1452 and 1454. It, as it were, closes a most interesting chapter of history, for although Calais remained for another century under English dominion, no sovereign after Henry VI struck any coins at its mint, which, after a period of brilliant prosperity, when it produced almost the whole of the money coined for all England, now sinks completely into an oblivion from which it never again emerged.

We have now arrived at what I may call the second type of Class V, or the "pine-cone pellet coinage" (to keep to the classification of Hawkins), when two changes occur which, although not very striking to a casual observer, distinctly mark a new departure at the mint. The leaf on the point of the cusp on the breast is now placed on the neck immediately under the chin, and the point of the cusp on the breast is fleured like the other cusps. The obverse legend now almost always reads $\pi\text{R}6\text{LI}$ $\text{FR}\pi\text{RC}$, but occasionally $\pi\text{R}6\text{LI} \cdot Z \cdot \text{FR}\pi\text{RC}$ instead of as formerly, $\pi\text{R}6\text{L} \cdot Z \cdot \text{FR}\pi\text{RC}$. No mint-mark ever appears now on the reverse, but the additional pellets in twoquarters and on the obverse at each side of the crown occur almost invariably. The groats of this and the previous issue, although not very common, are fairly numerous; the latter class I should, from reference to the mint accounts, in addition to other reasons, place between 1453 and 1456. The bust varies considerably on groats of this coinage, but otherwise there is little change to note; the most remarkable variety of which I am aware being a groat in the National Collection with a star of four points, or perhaps two saltires, on either side of the King's bust [Pl. XI. 5]; otherwise it is exactly similar to the groats last described. It is figured in Hawkins [Suppl., Pl. VII. 644]. The half-groats of this coinage are very rare. There is one in the

British Museum Collection [Pl. XI. 4] exactly corresponding with the groats with mint-mark cross-fleury, leaf on breast, and the pellets at sides of crown and in quarters of reverse. I myself have one without the pellets on the obverse, but with them on the reverse. The obverse legend reads ANGLI FRANC Z, the last letter being most exceptional. Hawkins states that "there is no London penny of Class V. known." One is, however, described in the catalogue of the Montagu Collection (lot 555, second portion), and I have two varieties in my own cabinet. All have the leaf on the breast and the pellets at the sides of the crown, but the Montagu coin and one of my own are without the additional pellets in the two quarters of the reverse [Pl. XI. 6], but the other has them. All have for mint-mark the cross-fleury and read HENRIC Z REX Z ANGLI ; and on the reverse CIVITAS LONDON. There are also pence of the ecclesiastical mints of both York and Durham of this class, both rare, those of York being perhaps the rarest [Pl. XI. 10]. These latter have the same mint-mark, legend and other characteristics as those of London, save the name of the place of mintage. They are mostly without any extra pellets in the quarters of the reverse. The Durham pence have, like those of London and York, the leaf on the breast and the pellets at the sides of the crown. On the reverse they usually have the well-known badge of Bishop Nevill, the two interlaced rings in the centre of the cross. There are some, however, without it and also without the leaf on the breast ; they read DVROLIP and Hawkins puts them in Class IV., although they have the pellets at the sides of the crown and read ANGLI ; F. Those struck after 1457 have a cross in saltire to the left and the letter B at the right of the neck on the obverse for Bishop Booth, who was bishop from 1457 to 1476 [Pl. XI. 13].

These latter may possibly be more correctly placed in the next and latest coinage, but they have the leaf on the breast or neck, which is in no other instance found in Class VI. Some have the pellets on the reverse united by lines so as to form triangles. There are halfpence and farthings of London of this coinage, the latter being very rare.

CLASS VI.—CROSS AND PELLET COINAGE.

We now come to the last coinage of which other denominations than groats are known, and which (again being guided by the mint accounts) may most probably be assigned to 1459-60. As is well known, the leading characteristic of this coinage is the small cross in saltire on the King's neck, which, together with the pellets at the sides of the crown and in two quarters of the reverse, are never absent on the coins of any denomination; of which each one, from the groat to the farthing, is to be found. All but the groats are very rare, and even these are rather rare. There are several varieties of the groat. Some have a small mullet or star of five points usually either at the end of the obverse legend or after *POSVI* [Pl. XI. 7]. Others have maces in the obverse legend usually after *HENRIC* and *GRAN*, but occasionally after *FRANCIS* [Pl. XI. 9]. I have one with the maces in these three positions, but without any mint-mark. A very curious groat of this type is figured in Ruding, Supplement, Pl. I., No. 41. It is described as of Henry IV, and has an object after *HENRICI* which strongly resembles the Arabic figure 4, as it appears on the Perkin Warbeck groat and elsewhere [Pl. XI. 11]. Ruding states in a note that the authenticity of this coin is extremely doubtful, and that "it first appeared in Withy's plates from the communication of Mr. John White, and is not,"

he believes, "now known to exist." Hawkins alludes to this coin as a blundered or altered coin, but, apparently without the plate before him, seems to refer to the cross on the breast.

It so happens that I myself have a groat of Henry VI of the issue under consideration, which has the same figure after the name as the one in Ruding. It is, of course, possible that mine may be the identical coin so long lost sight of, although it seems hardly likely. If it is not, and mine is another coin, it would be an argument against its being an altered coin. It certainly is a genuine groat of Class VI, but what the object after HENRICI is, I am unable to suggest. It may possibly be an alteration, but if so, it is cleverly done. Perhaps some member of the Society may be able to suggest an explanation, now that the actual coin is forthcoming, after being so long lost sight of.

The half-groats of this issue are almost identical in type with the groats, but the mint-mark is a plain cross and there is a star after HENRICI, but not elsewhere [PL XI. 8]. The three pellets in the quarters of the reverse are joined trefoilwise. The penny is figured in Hawkins (No. 333). It has mascles after HENRICI and REX [PL XI. 12]. There are York pence of this type with a small cross in saltire at each side of the neck. They are rare, but much less so than those of London. The groats almost invariably, and the half-groats always, read ANGLI FRANC, while the pence and halfpence read REX ANGLL. The Durham pence of Bishop Booth may also belong to this coinage, but having the leaf on the breast they vary from all other coins of the issue, and they are also without the extra pellets in the quarters of the reverse.

Amongst the groats in the Stamford find there were a few of a type thought to be previously unknown and which must have been struck immediately previous to the accession of Edward IV, as the same types are found on his earliest heavy groats, and were known before similar ones of Henry VI were discovered. The special characteristic of these groats is their having a fleur-de-lis on the neck in place of the saltire cross, while, although exceptional, a few examples have also a mint-mark on the reverse before POSVI, a feature long discontinued, but which was revived by Edward IV and continued by his successors. Of the two examples known of this reverse mint-mark on these latest groats of Henry VI one is a plain cross, and is described by Hawkins as in the Pownall Collection. The other is in my own collection and has a small lis before POSVI [PL. XI. 14]. It is to be noted that heavy groats of Edward IV occur with precisely the same reverse mint-marks as these Henry VI groats and are much less rare, showing that they must have immediately followed them without presumably any interval. No half-groats or lesser coins of Henry VI have appeared with the lis on the neck, but the heavy half-groat and halfpenny of Edward IV with this characteristic is known.

The light coinage issued during the short restoration of Henry VI in 1470 is so entirely unconnected with any of his previous issues that it appears to me to be out of place to allude to it here. It rather seems as if it should be treated either by itself or as part of the coinage of the reign of Edward IV.

FREDR. A. WALTERS.

REFERENCES TO PLATES.

PLATE VIII.

Annulet Coinage.

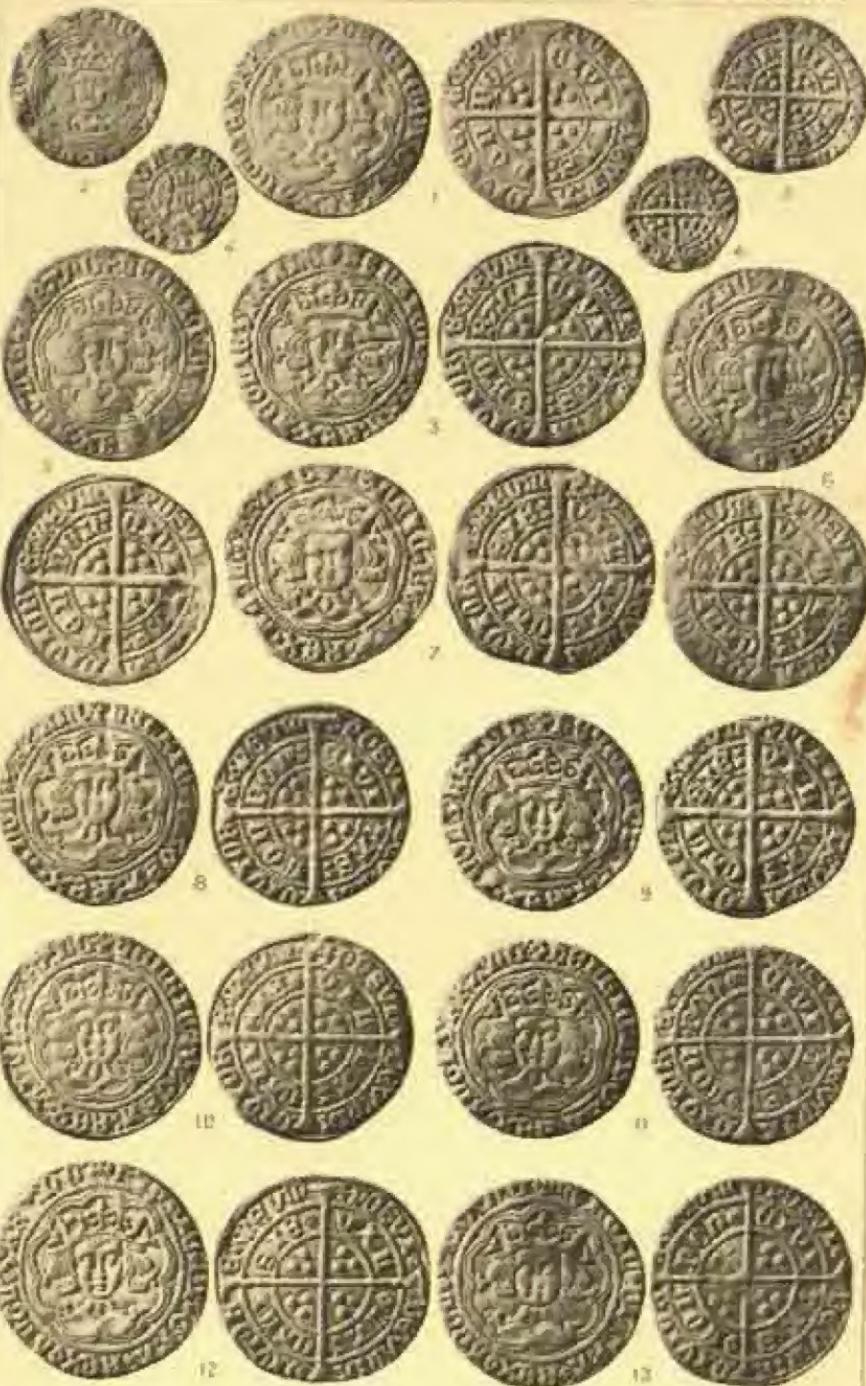
1. London groat of Henry V with M.M. pierced cross, type I.
2. London half-groat of Henry V with M.M. pierced cross, type I.
3. York groat of Henry VI with M.M. pierced cross, type II.
4. York half-penny of Henry VI with M.M. pierced cross, type II.
5. London groat of Henry VI of earliest type, similar to the York groat.
6. Calais groat of Henry VI of earliest type, similar to the York groat.
7. Calais groat of Henry VI of slightly later type, reading ANGL'.
8. London groat of third and latest annulet type.
9. Calais groat of third and latest annulet type.
10. Calais groat of transition type or "annulet rosette" coinage.

Rosette-Mascul Coinage.

11. London groat of first type, M.M. pierced cross, rosettes on reverse only.
12. Calais groat of second type, M.M. cross fleury, rosettes both sides.
13. London groat similar in all respects to last.

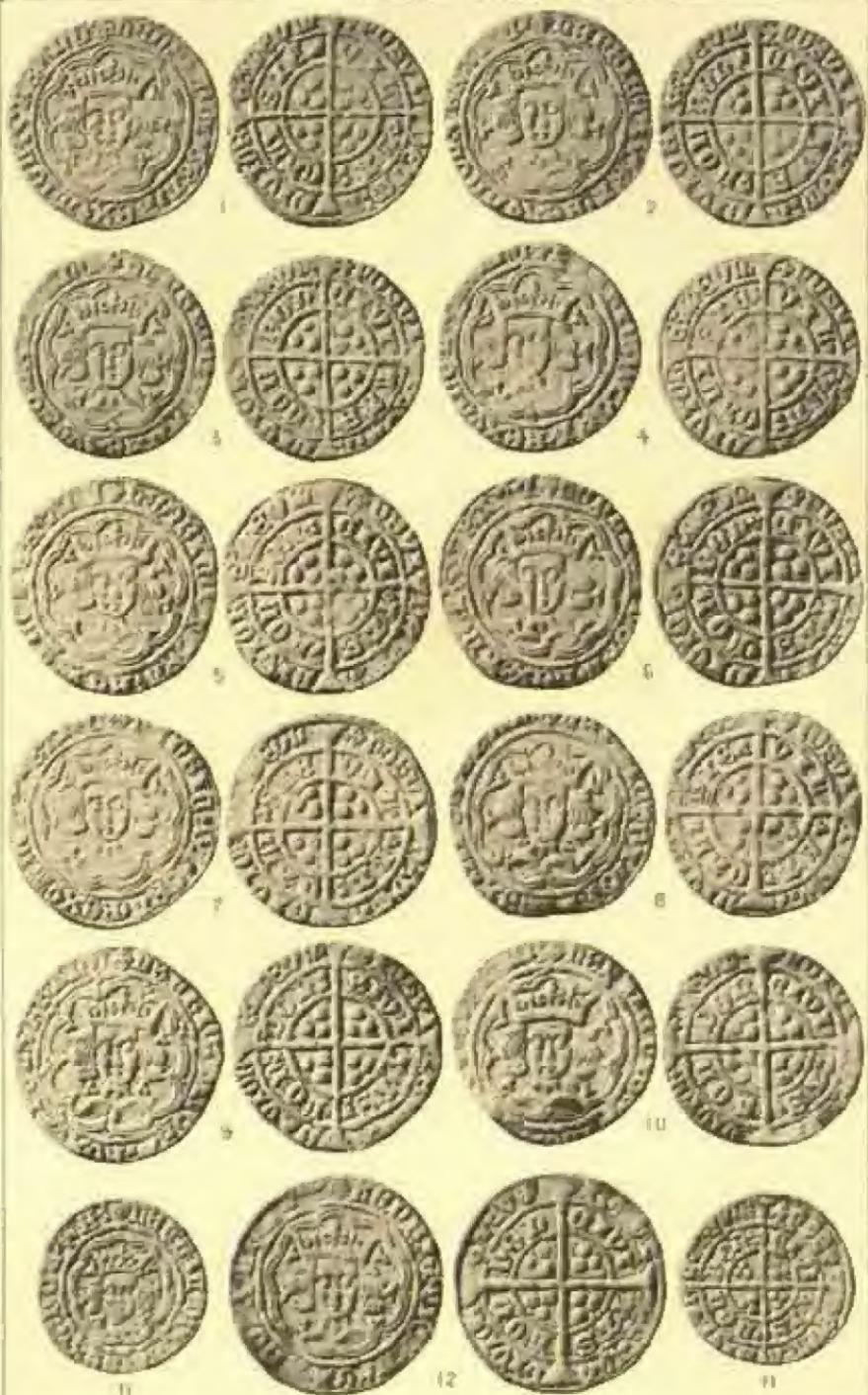
PLATE IX.

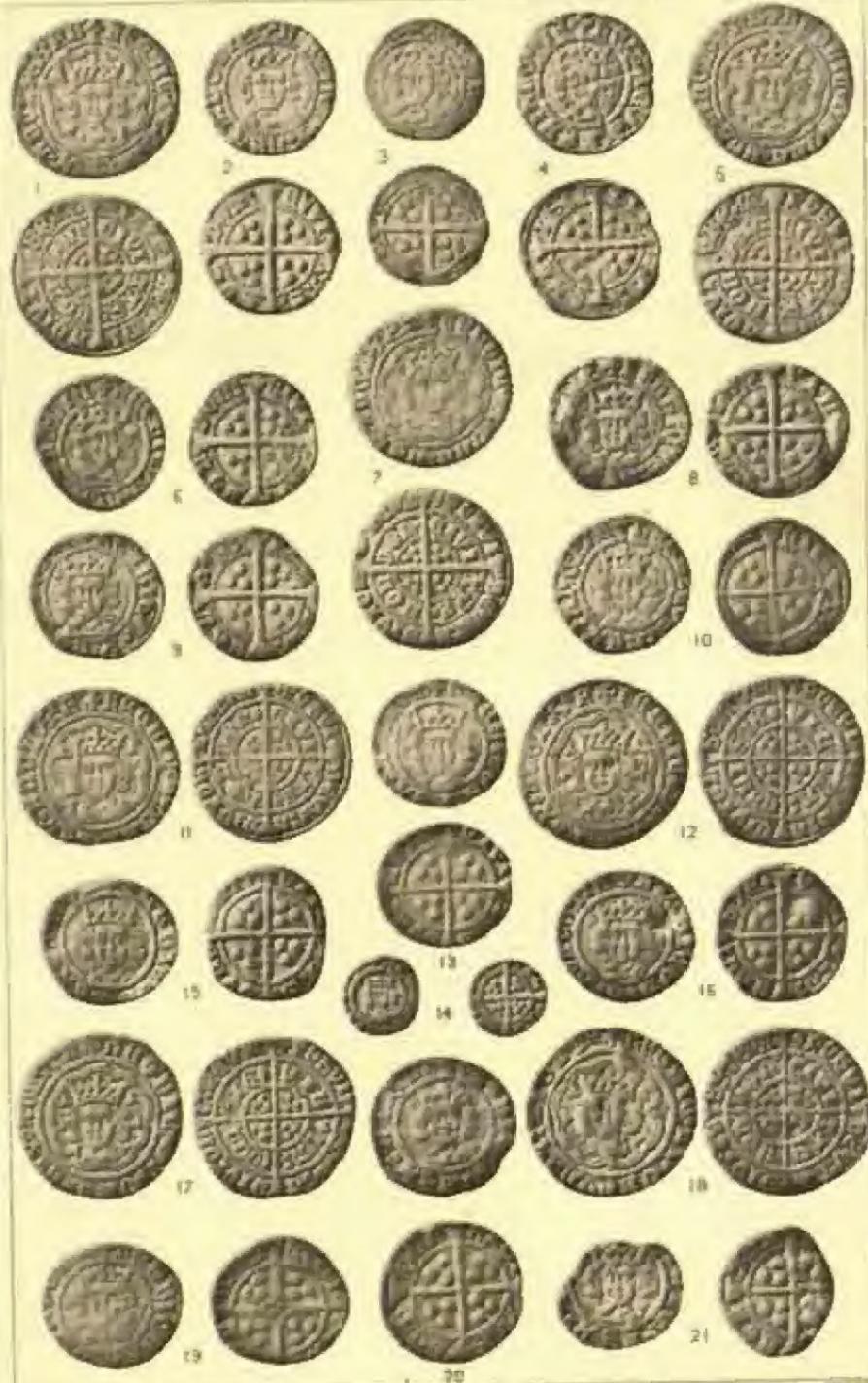
1. Calais groat of pine-cone mascul coinage.
2. London groat of pine-cone mascul coinage.
3. London groat with M.M. cross voided, leaf in spandril under bust.
4. Calais groat of similar type to last.
5. London groat of transition type on which the mascul, leaf and trefoil marks all appear.
6. London groat with leaf on breast, trefoils and leaves in legend.
7. Calais groat with pine-cone obverse and trefoil reverse.
8. Calais groat of the trefoil coinage.
9. London groat of the trefoil coinage, pointed trefoils in spandrels of tressure.
10. London groat of trefoil coinage, trefoils forming points to cups at sides of bust.

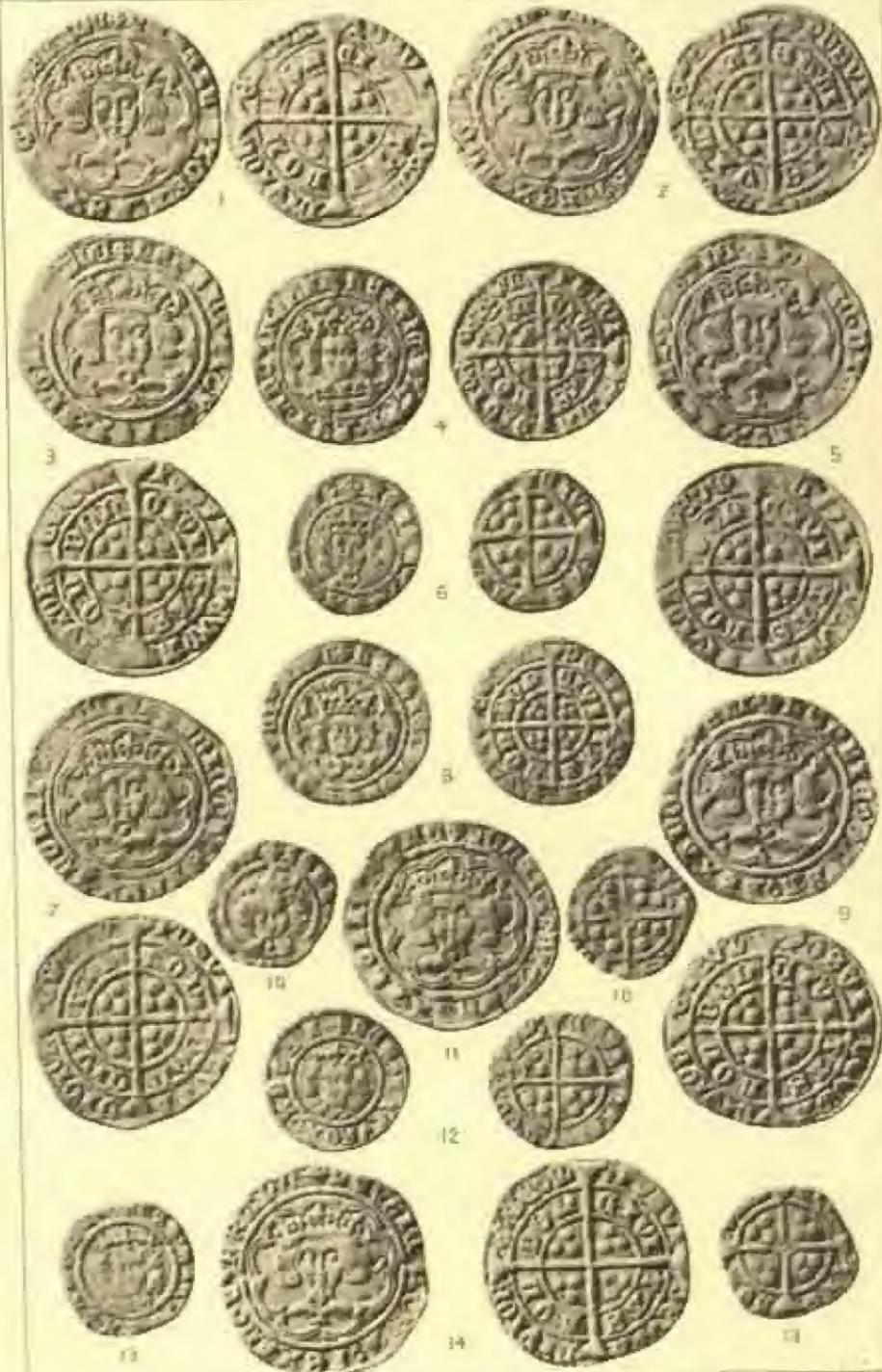


SILVER COINAGE OF HENRY VI









11. London half-groat with trefoils and leaves in legend.
12. London groat with no distinguishing mark, small extra pellets in four quarters of reverse.

PLATE X.

1. London annulet half-groat of Henry VI., earliest issue, M.M. pierced cross, type II.
2. London annulet penny, same issue.
3. Durham annulet penny.
4. Calais annulet penny, earliest type, M.M. pierced cross, type II.
5. London annulet half-groat, second type, M.M. cross not pierced.
6. London annulet penny, second type, M.M. cross not pierced.
7. London annulet half-groat, third type, reverse legend ends **MVA BR**.
8. Calais penny, last annulet type.
9. Calais penny, annulet trefoil issues, trefoil to left of crown.
10. London penny, rosette muscle coinage; muscle before, rosette after **LONDOR**, unique?
11. London half-groat rosette muscle coinage, first type, M.M. plain cross.
12. Calais half-groat, rosette muscle coinage, second type, M.M. cross-flanerie.
13. Durham penny, rosette muscle coinage, first type.
14. Calais farthing, rosette muscle coinage.
15. Durham penny, rosette muscle coinage, second type.
16. Calais penny with rosette obverse and pine-cone reverse.
17. Calais half-groat, pine-cone muscle coinage.
18. London half-groat, leaf under bust and in legend corresponding with groats 3 and 4, Plate IX.
19. York penny, pine-cone muscle coinage.
20. London penny corresponding with half-groat No. 18.
21. London penny, trefoil coinage, trefoil after **HENRIC**.

PLATE XI.

1. London groat, pine-cone pellet coinage, leaf on breast.
2. Calais groat, same coinage. The last struck at Calais.
3. London groat of later issue, with leaf on neck.
4. London half-groat of pine-cone pellet coinage.
5. London groat, same coinage, saltires at sides of bust, M.B.

6. London penny, same coinage, said by Hawkins to be unknown.
7. London groat, cross and pellet coinage.
8. London half-groat, same issue.
9. London groat, same coinage, masales in obverse legend.
10. York penny, pine-cone pellet coinage, leaf on breast.
11. London groat of cross and pellet coinage with peculiar mark Q after HENRICI. See Rading, Supplement, Plate I, No. 41.
12. London penny of cross and pellet coinage.
13. Durham penny of Bishop Booth, latest type.
14. Last London heavy groat of Henry VI, corresponding in every respect, but the name, with some of the first heavy groats of Edward IV; lis on neck and before POSVI on reverse.



1. A.



2. A.



3. A.



4. A.



5. A.



6. A.



7. A.



8. A.



9. A.



10.



A.



11.



A.



12.



N.



13.



N.

XVII.

SOME RARE ORIENTAL COINS.

(See Plate XII.)

I. KHALIFS OF BAGHDAD.

The following coins of the Umayyad and Abbasi Khalifs which are in my collection, being mostly unpublished varieties, appear to be worth noticing in the Chronicle in somewhat the same way as was done in the *Fasti Arabici* of Mr. S. Lane-Poole in the years 1885-87. They are not to be found in the Catalogues of the Oriental Coins in the British, Paris, Berlin, or Cairo National Collections, nor in the *Fasti Arabici*. Some of them are, however, included in Tiesenhausen's "Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux"; reference in these cases is given as (Ties. No.).

UMAYYAD KHALIFS.

Istakhar. 79 A.R. سبعين is written نئان سرور.

90 A.R. سبعين distinctly written.

Annulets, o.oooo.

[Pl. XII, 1.]

al Biyan. 81 A.R. بالبيان. Annulets, ooooo.

Biyan was on the "Blimi Tigris," the present Shatt al Arab, just above the junction of the Nahr Dujayl with it, that is, some 30 miles east and a little north of Basra.

[Pl. XII, 2.]

Jayy. 82 A.R. سَنَةُ اثْنَيْ ثَعْمَنِينَ. Similar to Tiesenhausen, No. 299, on which is the same spelling of the unit of date.

Junday Sobur. 91 A.R. (Ties. 361.)

Dastanca. 92 A.R. *al-Rayy.* 81, 82 A.R. *Sijistan.* 91 A.R. (Ties. 353.)

Suk al Taimarah. 81 A.R. بَسْقُ التَّيْمَارَةِ فِي سَنَةِ احْدَا وَتَعْمَنِينَ.

The lettering is not very good, but there seems little doubt about the reading of the mint place, although سَنَةٌ is put for أَحَدًا. سوق أَحَدًا is also a misspelling. Suk does not appear to have been noticed on a coin prefixed to Taimarah. This is apparently the same as the coin read as *Suk Morra* by Ternberg in *Nomini Cufri*.

[PL XII, 3.]

Farab or *Furat*. 82 A.R. The latter is probably the right reading and is that adopted by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, who writes *Furat*, "the Arabic name of the Euphrates; but here meaning a town on the eastern bank of the estuary of the Euphrates and Tigris, facing Ubulla" (Cat. of Arabic Coins at Cairo, p. 20, footnote). Lavoix and others read *Farah*, which is given in *Yakut* as "a town of Ardistan in the Province of Ispahan."

Kensis. 92 A.R. Described in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, vol. xvi, 1883, p. 98.

Mah al Basra. 79 A.R. *Mah al Basra* is known as a mint of the Abbasides and Samanids, but has not until now been seen on such an early coin as this. [PL XII, 4.]

Mary. 79 A.R. With *Mary* in Pahlavi characters below last line of *Obe.* 84 A.R. Of very inferior workmanship and lettering, *Mary* in Pahlavi below *Obe.*

Connecting Link.

Sabur. 129 A.R. *Obr.* Inner marg. inscrip.:

قل لا اسلک علیه اجراء الا العودة فی الغربى

Outer marg. inscrip.:

بسم الله صرب بسابرور سنة تسع وعشرين ومة

[PL. XII, 5.]

Mure. 130 A.R. *Obr.* Inner marg. inscrip. as on last coin.

Outer marg. inscrip.:

بسم الله صرب هذا الدرهم بمرو سنة ثلاثين ومة

[Pl. XII, 6.]

ABBASI KHALIPS.

AL-SAFFAH. *Junday Sabur.* 135 A.R. *Obr.* Annulets, 000 000 000.

Rev. محمد | رسول الله

AL-MANSUR. *Ghurshistan.* 137 A.R. This remarkable coin was described in Num. Chron., Vol. XIV, 1894, p. 88. It is now figured in the accompanying plate.

[PL XII, 7.]

AL-MAHDI. *Basra.* 154 A.R. *Obr.* as Brit. Mus. No. 97.

Rev. as Brit. Mus. No. 98.

Madinat al Salam. 162 A.R. As Brit. Mus. No. 126, but with one pellet above and two beneath *Rev.* area.

AL-HADI. *Afrikiga.* 170 A.R. *Obr.* as Brit. Mus. No. 161.

Rev. Area:

الخلفية الهاشمي | معا اميريه هرون | ولی عهد المسلمين

Above لـ. Beneath لـ. (Ties. 1,100.)

AL-RASHID. *Arran.* 190 A.R. *Obr.* Annulets, 00000.

Rev. Area | رسول | الله | محمد

Above. Beneath خازم بن. (Ties. 1,481.)
Khazimah b. Khazim was appointed Governor in Armenia
A.H. 185.

Arminiyah. 181 A.R. *Obo.* Annulets, O oo O oo O oo.

Rev. Area | عَبْدُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ | رسول | الله | الْاَمِينِ وَلِي

Above. Beneath سعيد بن سلم. (Ties. 1,832.)
Said b. Salm was appointed Governor of al-Jazira,
A.H. 180 (S. Lane-Poole).

Misr. 180 A.R. *Obo.* Annulets, oo o oo o oo o oo o.

Rev. Area | الله | عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ | رسول | الله | صَلَّى

Above. Beneath موسى بن سعيد. (Ties. 1,282.)

Madinat Bajunis. 191 A.R. Similar to Cairo Museum No. 513,
but pellet beneath دارود and point above دارود on *Rev.*

Madinat al-Salam. 185 A.R. As Brit. Mus. No. 218, but
annulets, ooooo.

AL-AMIN. *Dinask.* 188 A.R. *Obo.* Annulets, O O O.

Rev. Area :

محمد رسول الله | الامام العامون | عبد الله امير المؤمنين

Above. Beneath بن يحيى. [Pl. XII, 8.]

Similar to Ties. 1,705 of doubtful year.

Madinat Samarkand. 193 A.R. *Obo.* Annulets, o o o o o.

Rev. area as Brit. Mus. No. 238 of the year 194, but
without التغل beneath.

Madinat Nisabur. 193 A.R. As Brit. Mus. No. 245, without
عثمن beneath *Rev.* area.

194 A.R. As Brit. Mus. No. 245 of the year 193.

196 AR. Same pattern, but nothing beneath Rev. area.

Madinat al Salam. 194 AR. Obv. Annulets, ○ oo ○ oo ○ oo.
Rev. area as Brit. Mus. No. 240 of the year 193.

AL-MANUS. *Madinat Ishaqan.* 207 AR. As Brit. Mus. No. 279,
but beneath Rev. area ○ خ.

Basra. 199 AR. Obv. Annulets, ○ oo ○ oo ○ oo.

Rev. Area لله | محمد | رسول | الله | ذو الرياستين
(Ties. 1,692.)

Ratikah. 200 AR. Obv. Annulets, O ooo O ooo O ooo.

Point بصرى.

Rev. Area ماهر | محمد | رسول | الله . Beneath

[PL XII, 9.]

209 AR. Obv. Second marginal inscription.

Rev. Area لله | محمد | رسول | الله . Nothing beneath.

Samarakand. 204 AR. As Brit. Mus. No. 289, but without
العـا beneath Rev. area. (Ties. 1,762.)

Mary. 199 AR. Obv. Second marginal inscription. المـشـق
below area.

Rev. Area لله | محمد | رسول | الله | ذو الرياستين
(Ties. 1,698.)

215 AR. Obv. Nothing beneath area.

Rev. Area لله | محمد | رسول | الله only.

Madin Bajunis. 19(9) AR. Obv. Annulets, oooooo.

Rev. Area لله | محمد | رسول | الله | ذو الرياستين

AL-WATHIQ. *Muhammadiyah.* 228 AR.

AL-MUTAWAKKIL. *Sarra min Ras.* 239 AR. (Ties. 1,900.)

AL-MUATAMID. *Sarra min Raa.* 258 A.R. Similar to Brit. Mus. No. 872 of the year 257, جعفر above and beneath Rev. area.

Madinat al Salam. 274 A.R. (Ties. 2,082.)

AL-MUATADID. *Rafikah,* 288 A.R. *Sarra min Raa,* 283 A.R. *Mosil,* 283 A.R. *Nisabin,* 282 A.R. (Ties. 2,127), 283 A.R., 288 A.R. (Ties. 2,136). *Hamadan,* 286 A.R.

AL-MUKTAFI. *Masisah,* 292 N. *Ishahan,* 292 A.R. *Ahwaz,* 294 A.R. *Basra,* 290 A.R. *Tustar min al Ahwaz,* 292 A.R. *Dimask,* 294 A.R. *Ras al Ayin,* 291 A.R.; beneath Obv. area *ولى الدوّلة.* *Rafikah,* 291, 294 A.R. *Suk al Ahwaz,* 292 A.R. *Kufah,* 295 A.R. *Mosil,* 295 A.R. (Ties. 2,205.)

AL-MUKTADIR. *al-Karkh,* 318 N. ثلثمائة وستة نصان عشرة سنة. *Obv. Area:*

الله | لا إله | إلاك الله | لا شريك لك | أبو العباس بن | أمير المؤمنين

Rev. Area: الله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله

Nothing beneath. The final letter of the mint name is not very distinct, but appears to be similar to that on the dinar figured in the Paris Catalogue No. 1,130, of the year 308.

Madinat al Salam. 317 N. As Brit. Mus. No. 419, but there are no pellets on either side.

Shiraz. 302, 306, A.R. No point on Rev.

Muhammadiyah. 311 A.R. *Obv. Area* as usual. Two rings outside the outer marginal legend with four small annulets.

Rev. Area:

الله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن على

[Pl. XII, 10.]

Madinat al Salam. 300 R, as Brit. Mus. No. 438, but no points below *Rev.* 301 R, as Brit. Mus. No. 439, but two points instead of one below *Rev.* 303 R, one point above and one below *Obe.* area. Two points below *Rev.* area. 303 R, crescent above and point below *Obe.* Two points below *Rev.* 304 R, nothing above or below *Obe.* ♂ below *Rev.* 305 R, crescent above and point below *Obe.* ♂ below *Rev.* 306 R, as Brit. Mus. No. 442, but no pellet below *Rev.* 308 R, as Brit. Mus. No. 442b, but ♂ below *Rev.* 308 R, as Brit. Mus. No. 442b, but nothing below *Rev.*

ابو العباس | بن امير | المؤمنين Area
بسم الله | غرب سنه انتين و ثلثمائة Margin
Rev. Area | الله | المقتدر [Pl. XII, 11.]
Margin الله | محمد رسول الله

al-Radi. Mekka. 325 N.
Obe. Area | لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له | ح
Rev. Area | الله | محمد رسول الله | الرحمن بالله

This remarkable coin was sent to me a short time ago by Mr. Howland from Paris; it was given to him as a Persian coin, and had been worn on a watch chain. There is an imperfect dinar of this mint in the Royal Museum at Berlin of the year 289, and another in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, dated 25 ×

[Pl. XII, 12.]

Basra. 328 R.

Obe. Area:

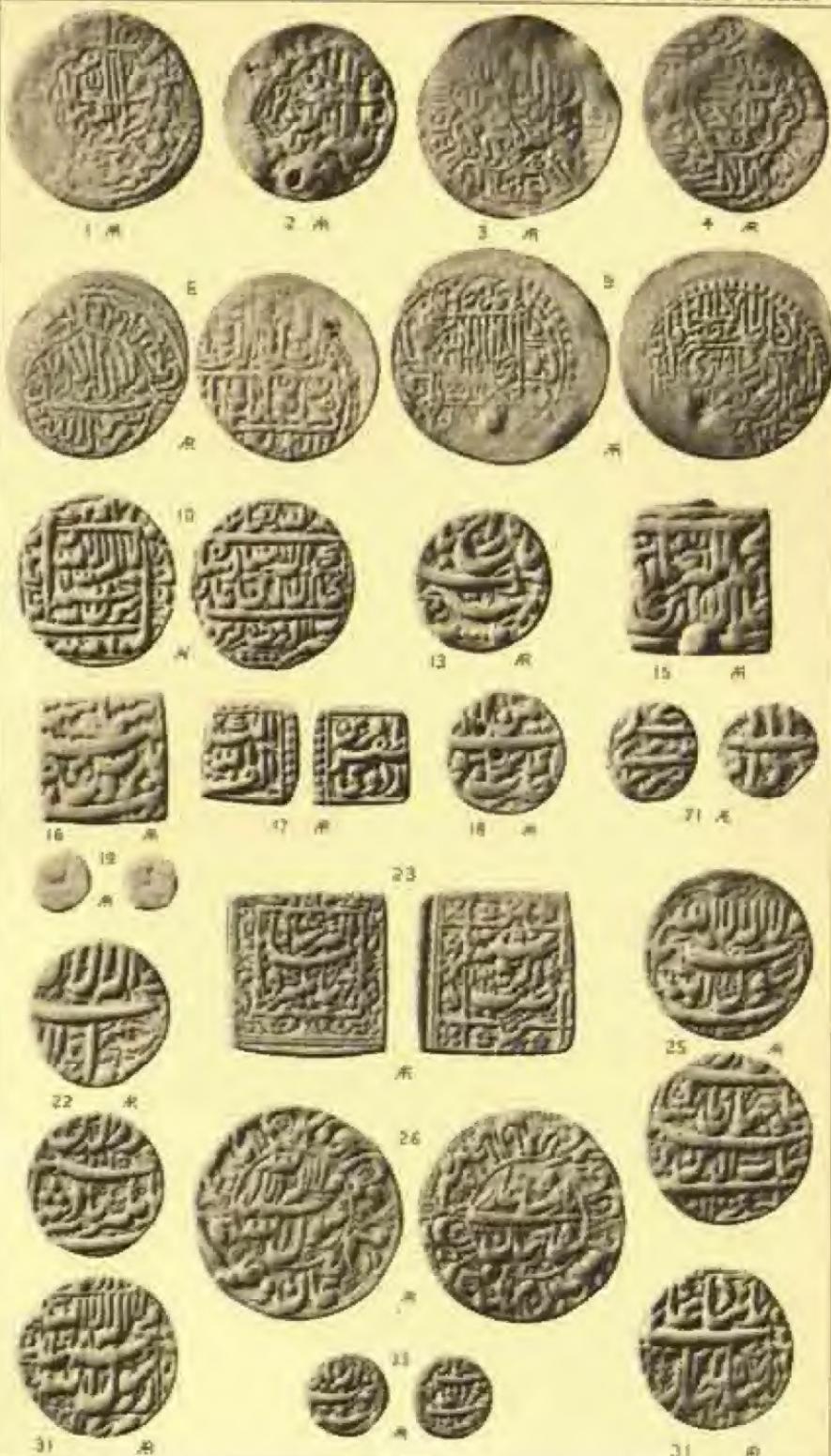
| لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو الفضل بن امير المؤمنين
(Ties. 2,435.)

Nisibin. 323 R. (Ties. 2,404.)

ANIS AT UMARA, TURK. *Madinat al Salam.* 333 N. Described
but not figured in my "Some Rare and Unedited Arabic
and Persian Coins," 1889. [Pl. XII, 13.]

Madinat al Salam. 333 R, as Tornberg, *Symbolar*, part iii,
No. 70.

O. CORRINGTON.





35



A.



37

A.



38

A.



40

A.



41

A.



42

A.



43

A.



44

A.



45

A.



46

A.



47

A.



48

A.



49

A.



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A.



51

A.



52

A.



53

A.



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A.



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A.



56

A.



57

A.



58

A.



59

A.



60

A.



61

A.



62

A.



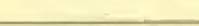
63

A.



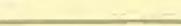
64

A.



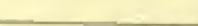
65

A.



66

A.



67

A.



68

A.



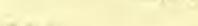
69

A.



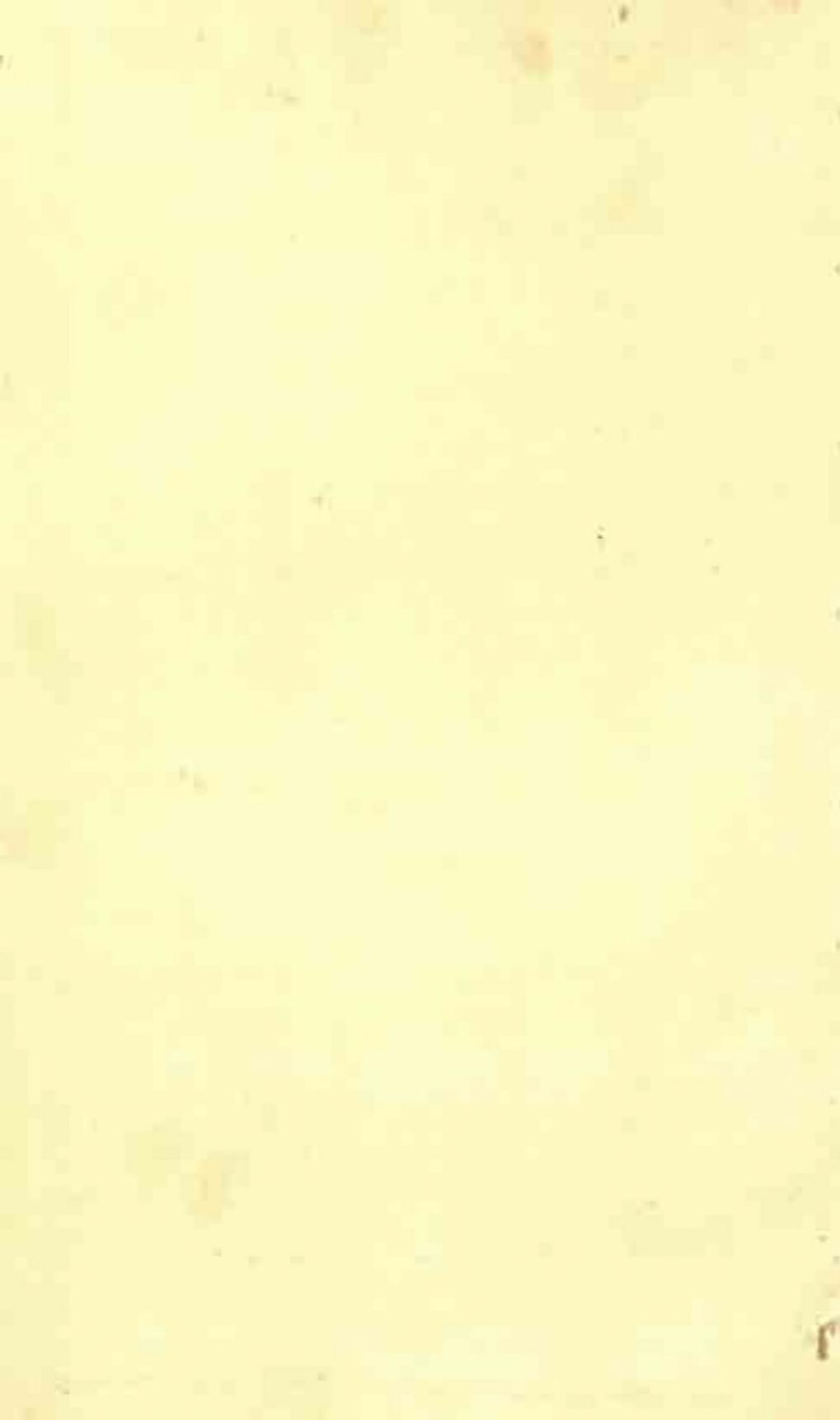
70

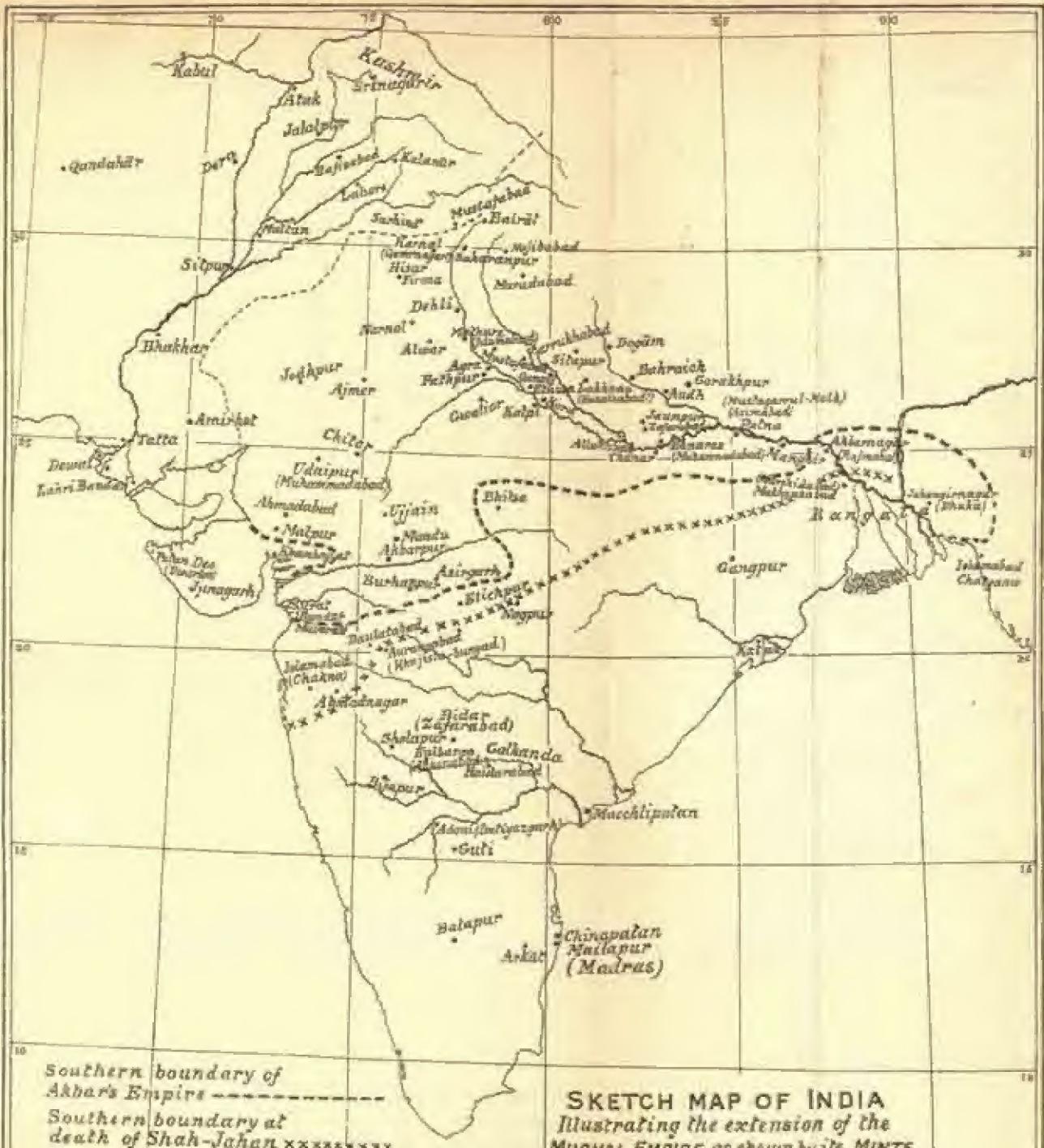
A.



71

A.





Southern boundary of
 Akbar's Empire -----
 Southern boundary at
 death of Shah-Jahan x*****
 North west boundary after
 invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani --

**SKETCH MAP OF INDIA
Illustrating the extension of the
MOGHUL EMPIRE as shown by its MINTS**

50 100 200 300 MILES



XVIII.

SOME COINS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS.

(See Plates XIII., XIV., and Map.)

The first authoritative and exhaustive catalogue of the coins of the Mughal Empire was that of the splendid collection of the British Museum published in 1892. This catalogue described over 1,400 coins: in many respects the collection is unrivalled, and it is likely to remain so. But its publication, by furnishing a standard of comparison, has been instrumental in bringing to light a great number of hitherto undescribed coins, and in illustrating the apparently inexhaustible variety of this series. The late Mr. C. J. Rodgers was for some years the chief labourer in this field, and his catalogues of the Mughal coins in the Lahore Museum (the collection made by himself and purchased by the Panjab Government) and of the collection in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which were respectively published in 1893 and 1894, went far to supplement the deficiencies of the National Collection, especially in the department of the copper coins. This branch, relating especially to the copper coins of Akbar's time, was further very exhaustively dealt with by him in his article on Mughal copper coins in the *Journal of the*

Bengal Asiatic Society, 1895, and another entitled "Rare Mughal Coins," in the same journal in 1896. Several Mughal coins are also included in Captain Vost's article in the *J. A. S. B.*, 1895, "On some rare Muhammadan Coins"; and in 1896 appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* "Some Novelties in Mughal Coins," by Mr. L. White King and Capt. Vost, in which several interesting coins from Mr. White King's cabinet were described.

The *Lahore Museum Catalogue* is especially full and interesting, and it is much to be regretted that it is without illustrations. The *Indian Museum Catalogue* is also very inadequately illustrated, only thirty-one coins being given (in Plates I. and II., Part II). Mr. Rodgers' other articles are fully illustrated with outline lithographs from his own drawings. Capt. Vost's article is accompanied by two plates in photo-stitching, which are not very clear, while Mr. White King's is illustrated by two excellent autotype plates.

The coins described in this paper are all from my own cabinet. With the exception of Nos. 16, 17, 23, 26, 42, 68 and 70 they are, as far as I can ascertain, unedited, and none of them have been figured with the exception of Nos. 42 and 68.

New mints will be found under the names of most of the Kings from the time of Aurangzeb onwards. Nothing illustrates more remarkably the extraordinary extent and variety of the Mughal coinage than the number of new mints which have been brought to light since the publication of the *British Museum Catalogue*. On pp. xlvi to 1 of the introduction of that catalogue, Mr. S. Lane-Poole gave a statement showing the mints represented under the name of each sovereign from Bābar to Bahādur Shāh II, and it will be interesting to supplement that

statement by a further list derived from the authorities quoted above, showing the mints since added.¹

No. of Mints in B. M. C.	Mints since added.	
Bâbar	1 Agra, Urdu, Jaunpûr, Kâbul . . .	4
Humâyûn	1 Agra, Dehlî, Kâbul, Qandahâr . . .	4
Kâmrân	0 Kabul, Qandahâr	2
Akbar	24 Ajmer, Akbârpûr, Andh, Atak-Banârâ, Bandar-Shah, Bangâla, Bhakhar, Chitor, Hîsar, Kalpi, Lakhnau, Bahraich, Jalâpûr, Lahri-Bandar, Qanauj, Sahâranpûr, Sherpûr, Sitpûr, Srinagar, Sûrat, Ujjain, Alwar, Govindpûr, Dewal, Mângâhir, Gorakhpûr, Kalanâr, Chunâr, Amirkot	20
Jahângîr	14 Ahmadnagar, Elîchpûr, Jalair, Bairat, Mandu, Zafarnagar, Panjuagar	7
Shâh Jahân I	20 Bairat, Bhîsa, Ahmadnagar, Khambayat, Lakhnau, Narnol, Ujjain	7
Aurangzeb	27 Ahmadâbâd, 'Azimâbâd, Bhakhar, Haidarâbâd, Imtiyâzgâr, Jahângîrnagar, Kashmir, Kulbarga, Maklûsâbâd, Muhammadâbâd, Murâdâbâd, Murshidâbâd, Sarhind, Shotipur, Bandar-Mubârak (Srîrat), Ujjain, Mailâpur, Ahsanâbâd, Hasnâbâd (probably the same as Ahsanâbad with initial letter omitted), A'zamnagar, Islâmâbâd	21

¹ In this article the following abbreviations have been used:—

L. M.—*Lahore Museum Catalogue*. 1894.

I. M.—*Indian Museum Catalogue*. 1894.

B. M.—*British Museum Catalogue*. 1892.

R.—Mr. C. J. Rodgers. Various articles in *J. A. S. B.*

V.—Capt. W. Vost in *J. A. S. B.* 1895.

K.—Mr. L. White King and Capt. W. Vost in *Num. Chron.* 1896.

E. D.—*History of India*. Elliott and Dowson. 1807-1877.

No. of Mints in R. M. C.	Mints since added.
Bahadur Shah I 11	Sarhind, Zafarabad, Tatta, Etawā, Chināpatan, Barsi, Khambiyat, Narnoi, Elichpur, Kabul, Lakhnau, Murshidabad, Karimabad, Ahmadnagar, Kul- barga 15
Jahandár 4	Mustaqqarū'l-Mulk, Khamba- yat, Lakhnau, Lahore, Bur- hanpur, Kulbarga 6
Farrukh-siyar 21	Khujista-bunyad, Tatta, Sar- hind, Lakhnau, Mustaqarrū'l- Mulk, Etawā, Ujjain, Islāmā- bad, Elichpur, Maiapuri, Bankipur, Kabul 12
Rafī'n-darjat 6	Kabul, Multān, Gwāliār, Zīnatul- bilād, Etawā, Murshidabad 6
Shah Jahan II 8	Islāmābad, Tatta, Indarpur 3
Muhammad Shah 20	Ajmer, Gwāliār, Sarhind, Bur- hanpur, Akhtarnagar-Audh (given in B. M., but described as Akbarnagar-Audh, No. 985), Ahmadabad, Peshawar, Multān, Dera, Atak, Kham- biyat, Arkāt, Jahangirnagar, Chināpatan, Muhammadabad, Qamarnagar, Firozagar, Elichpur, Hāfizābad, Musta- qarrū'l-Khilāfat (Bodleian) 20
Ahmad Shah 7	Sarhind, Lahore, Islāmābad, Kālpi, Jodhpur, Burhanpur, Khambiyat, Multān, 'Azimā- bad, Kātak, Arkāt 11
Shah Jahan III 5	Murshidabad, Sūrat 2
'Alīgir II 8	Sarhind, Burhanpur, Kashmīr, Muhammadābad-Banāras, Na- jibābad, Arkāt, Baroda, Kham- biyat, Jodhpur, Hāfizābad 10
(Including 'Azim- ābad, No. 1083, not given on p. l.)	
Shah 'Alam 16	Indarpur, Aoplā, Murādābad, Muhammadnagar, Dīngarb, Kora, Dāru'l-barat Kāndi, Jammū, Najafgarh, Bareli, Saharanpur, Hardwār, Mo-
(Including Arkāt; see Cat. p. 239, not given on p. l.)	

No. of Mints in B. M. G.

Mints since added.

		minābād, Minzafargārāb, Mahes-
		war (Mysorē), Muḥārnagar,
		Gwāliār, Nāgpūr, Gokalgārā,
		Akbarpūr, Husainābād, Muṣ-
		tāfābād, Jhānsi, Dāmlā, Nā-
		hun, Farrukhnagar 26
Akbar II	1	Ahmadābād, Ajmer, Indarpūr,
		Jaipūr, Firozpūr, Jaunpūr 6
Bedār-Bakht	2	Muhammadābād 1
Bahādur Shāh II	1	None.

To the above list I am now able to make the following additions from the coins here described.

Aurangzeb	Ishābād, Katak, Güti, Ma'azzamābād	4
Bahādur Shāh I	Akbarnagar, Bijāpūr, Ahmadābād	3
Jahāndār	Etāwā, Sarhind, Ahmadābād	3
Farrukh-siyar	Ajmer, Ahmadābād, Bareli, Khambhāyai	4
Rafi'u'l-darjāt	Burhānpūr, Patna, Sarhind	3
Muhammad Shāh	Haidarābād (Farkhanda-bunyād), Bālī-	
	pūr	2
Ahmad Shāh	Shāhābād-Qanauj	1
'Alamgīr II	Islāmābād, Murādābād, Gwāliār	3
Shāh 'Alam	Burhānpūr	1
Akbar II	Haidarābād	1
Bahādur Shāh II	Haidarābād, Nasibābād	2

A very good idea of the expansion of the Mughal Empire may be obtained from the accompanying Map, which shows the mint-towns of the Mughal Emperors at different periods. The decline of the Empire is not so accurately reflected in the mints, as many of the new states, which were formed from its ruins, continued to use the name of the reigning emperor to give colour to their usurpations. It must not, for instance, be supposed that coins struck in the name of 'Alamgīr II or Shāh 'Alam at Indore (Indarpūr), Gwāliār, Baroda, Muḥārnagar or Nāgpūr were really struck under their authority. They

merely represent the desire of the Mahratta chiefs to take advantage of the prestige still attaching to the name of Bādshāh. The abstraction of the north-west frontier province by Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, and the rise of the Sikh power are, however, accurately reflected in the coinage, and the mints of Peshawar, Lahore, Multān, Bhakhar, and Tatta, so common on the coins of the earlier kings, disappear altogether. None of them, except Lahore, are found after Muhammad Shāh. Lahore and Sarhind last till 'Ālamgīr II, but after Ahmad Shāh's conquest of the Mahrattas they are found no more as Mughal mints. The Sikhs remained in possession of them, while Peshawar, Atak, Dera, Multān and Bhakhar became mints of the Durrānis. Kashmir ceases to be represented about the same time, and also becomes a Durrāni mint.

SARHIND.

The history of the Sarhind mint may be said to have been completely brought to light since the publication of the *British Museum Catalogue*, which shows only one coin of that mint, a mohar of Akbar. Mr. Rodgers in his various publications gives coins of Aurangzeb, Bahādur Shāh I, Farrukh-siyar, Muhammad Shāh, Ahmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II, and I can now add Jahāndār and Rafī'a'd-darjāt, thus completing the chain from the revival of the mint by Aurangzeb to the disappearance of the Mughal power. The earliest coin of Aurangzeb given by Mr. Rodgers (L. M. p. 189) is dated 1108. I have one of 1106, which corresponds to A.D. 1694-95, the year in which Guru Govind Singh commenced his active career. The revival of the mint may perhaps be connected with this event, as Sarhind was always a centre of Sikh influence,

and was captured by the Guru Banda in Farrukh-siyar's reign.

One of the Gurus, when killed by the Muhammadans, is said to have prophesied that Sarhind should be scattered from the Jamus to the Satlaj, and the Sikhs claim that this prophecy was fulfilled when the railway was constructed by the English, and some bricks from the ruins of Sarhind were used in ballasting the line. The remains, however, are still extensive.

Mr. Rodgers has already pointed out that this mint always appears on the coins in the form  Sahrand, and not Sarhind. The usual modern form is no doubt due to a false etymology, the Persian words Sar-hind meaning "head of India," a very inapplicable name for a place situated in no commanding situation.

With regard to the mints of the Dekkhan and Southern India, the following points may be noted in extension of the remarks on p. lviii, of the B. M. C. :—

HAIḌĀRĀBĀD.—First struck by Aurangzeb in A.H. 1099. Last by Muhammad Shah in A.H. 1141. Later coins issued by the *Nizārs* in the name of the Emperors. See remarks under Nos. 44 and 61 below.

SHOLĀFŪR.—Aurangzeb in A.H. 1096, as well as Bahādur Shāh.

ĪTTIYĀZGĀRĪ (ADONI).—Appears on the silver coinage of Aurangzeb in addition to the later diminutive gold coinage.

GÖTİ.—Also appears on the silver coinage of Aurangzeb (A.H. 1107) in addition to Farrukh-siyar's small gold coins.

AHSĀNĀBĀD, KULBARGA, HASMĀBĀD.—The mint of Ahsanābad, given by K. under Aurangzeb (A.H. 1115), and that of Hasmābad, given in L. M., p. 38, of the same date, are probably identical. For its identity with Kulbarga see *Tārikh-i Irādat Khān* in E. D. p. 534, vol. vii.

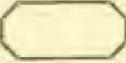
AKBARPŪR.—This mint is given by Rodgers in L. M. under Akbar in both silver and copper, and by K. under

Shāh 'Ālam II, in copper. It has not yet been found in any of the intervening reigns, and the mint has not yet been identified as far as I am aware. It seems to be the place on the Narbadā, not far from Mando, which is found on some modern maps, and is described by Khāñi Khāñ as an important ford (E. D. vii, 218, 451).

ISLĀMĀBĀD.—This place was given in *B. M. C.* only as a mint of Muhammad Shāh and Shāh-Jahān III. To these I have now added 'Ālamgīr II; and Aurangzeb, Farrukhsiyar, Shāh-Jahān II, and Ahmad Shāh, have been supplied by other authorities quoted. The earliest and latest dates are those now published, 1106 and 1167. The *B. M. C.* gives Chittagong (Chātgām) as the place referred to under this name. It was conquered and called Islāmābād in A.H. 1075 (E. D. vii, 275), but Chāknā, in the Dekkhan, had already received the name in A.H. 1070, on its capture from Sivaji (E. D. vii, 263). Mr. Rodger advocates the claims of Mathurā to be the mint, on the ground that it is nearer to the Panjab than Chittagong, but rupees from the most distant mints are sometimes found in very remote spots. I have myself obtained a Haldarābād rupee of Kāmbakhsh at Harrand on the N.-W. Frontier. *Prima facie* it would seem that Chāknā, as the first conquest from the infidel in the reign of Aurangzeb, was the original Islāmābād.

MUSTAFĀ-KHĀN.—This mint has been found only on rupees of Shāh 'Ālam II, described by Capt. Vost and myself. There are two or three places of the name. One is in the Dekkhan, being another name for Chopra (see E. D. vii, 807). One is in the Doāb between Agra and Mainpuri, and one in what is now the Ambālā district, which was plundered by the Sikhs in A.H. 1121 (E. D. vii, 423). It is not far from Sādhaurā (wrengly spelt Shādhūra in E. D.), and will not be found on most modern maps, but is given in Rennell's map of Hindostan of 1782. This is no doubt the place which Capt. Vost mentions as between Saharanpur and Ludhiāna, and it seems to be a probable position for a mint in Shāh 'Ālam's time, although the site near Agra is also a possible one.

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
4	Kābul	<p>HUMĀYŪN.</p> <p><i>Obe.</i> Area in looped eightfoil. Kalima. Margins in compartments. — يَنْ | حُمَرُ الْقَارِبُ | عُثْمَانُ الْمَادُلُ | —</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> Area in small eightfoil. *محمد همایون خاڑی السلطان الاعظم والخاقان امکرم : Margin : (خلد الله) تعالیٰ (ملکہ) و سلطانہ قرب کابل</p>
		R 1·0. Wt. 70. [Pl. XIII, 4.]
5	—	<p><i>Obe.</i> Area in plain circle, legends as in No. 4.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> Area in plain circle.</p> <p>خاڑی *محمد بادشاہ همایون</p>
		Margin as in No. 4. No mint. A small thick coin. R 1·85. Wt. 73.
6	—	<p><i>Obe.</i> Area in looped quatrefoil. Kalima margin, in segments. ابا بکر الصدیق | . . . | عُثْمَانُ الْعَفَانُ | عَلَى الْمُرْتَضَی</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> In mihrab. *محمد همایون بادشاہ</p>
		Outside as in margin of No. 4. No mint. R 1·95. Wt. 72. [Pl. XIII, 5.]

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.	
7	—	Variety of B.M. 19. Circles on obv. smaller and not looped. (الله بغير حساب يرزق من يشاء) under Kalima.) AR 9. Wt. 72.	
8	—	Another variety of B.M. 19. Words differently arranged. AR 95. Wt. 64.	
KAMRĀN.			
9	—	Obv. Area in square, with knots at corners. Kalima, etc., as in L.M. 1, p. 14. Rev. Area in oblong, with corners cut off. 	
*محمد کامران بادشاہ غازی			
Margins as in L.M. 1. The shape of the area differs from the L.M. coin. AR 1·1. Wt. 69. [Pl. XIII, 9.]			
AKBAR.			
10	Urda Zafar-qarin 1000	Obv. Kalima in area formed by the tails of the final letters of names of Khalifas. Inscriptions as in B.M. 66, but the coin is round, not square, and the Kalima is inserted perpendicularly, not diagonally. علم علی instead of اصیبہ علی. For the word here read as اصیبہ, the meaning of which has not yet been explained, cf. B.M.C., Miscellaneous Index, p. 373, with its references to Nos. 24 and 30. Rev. Inscriptions as in B.M. 73, but round, in dotted square. AR 85. Wt. 162. [Pl. XIII, 10.]	

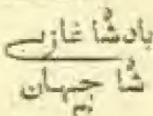
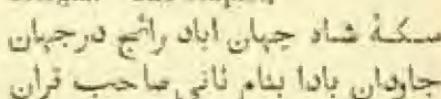
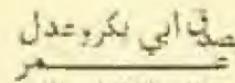
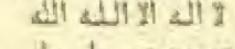
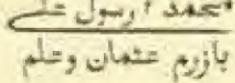
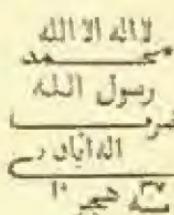
No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
11	Lahore Year 48, month Ardi- bihisht	Resembles B.M. 171, but ilahi date ۷۸ and month پیشتم اردی. R 75. Wt. 168.
12	972	Resembling B.M. 90, but obv. as well as rev. enclosed in eightfoil, and the lines enclosing areas double on both sides. M.M. ۶۰ on obv. Date ۴۷ on rev. R 105. Wt. 174.
13	Allâhabâd Year 49	Obv. ماه راجی باد مہر ۵۹ پیشتم Rev. الله اباد سکل ق جہان ن غرب و The couplet is the same as that in B.M. 254 and L.M. 158, 159, but differs in omitting the word <i>ج</i> over <i>همیشہ</i> and substituting the date ۷۹. R 7. Wt. 174. [Pl. XIII, 13.]
14	1001	Square Kalima type. No mint. Date ۱۰۰۱ over اکبر. R 7. Wt. 175.
15	1001	Square Kalima type. Loop attached. Date ۱۰۰۱ over اکبر احمد. Shroff-marked on edges. R 7. Wt. 177. [Pl. XIII, 15.]

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
16	? Bangula 1010	<p>See remarks of C. J. Rodgers in J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 221. I do not think either of the rupees there mentioned has been edited.</p> <p>Obe. The Kalima.</p> <p>Rev.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">شاد سلام [.] اکبر [.] کافر و مسیح [.] مسیح [.] اسکانه [.]</p>
17	Urdu-i Zafar-qarin 1000	<p>N.B.—I publish this specimen of this very rare coin as only one has hitherto been figured, and its attribution seems doubtful. C. J. Rodgers gives two (in L.M. Cat. p. 245), and Professor Hoernle one in J.A.S.B. 1893, p. 244 (pl. ix, 24). Mr. Rodgers informed Professor Hoernle that he had another in his possession, probably the coin here described, which came from his collection.</p> <p>Square AR 7. Wt. 171. [Pl. XIII, 16.]</p> <p>Obe. Both areas in double square with dots between lines.</p> <p>Rev.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">اکبَر اللہ الف قریب اردوی</p> <p>This four-anna piece was described in L.M. Cat. 124, p. 69, but has not been figured yet. It is remarkable from the combination of Hijri date with the words اللہ اکبَر, which never occurs on the rupees of the year 1000 of the same mint.</p> <p>Quarter rupee, square. AR 5. Wt. 43. [Pl. XIII, 17.]</p>

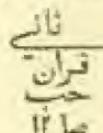
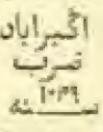
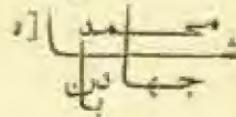
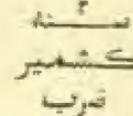
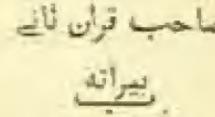
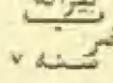
No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
18	Burhanpur Year 45, month Bahman	<p>Obv. On flowery field : الله اکبر جل جلاله <i>Rev.</i> بِسْمِ اللَّهِ بُرْهَانُ بُرْ نَصْرٌ</p>
		<p>The only fractional coin of the Burhanpur mint yet published. Half rupee. R. 65. Wt. 84. [PL XIII, 18.]</p>
19	Year 44	<p>Obv. الله اکبر <i>Rev.</i> بِسْمِ اللَّهِ</p>
		<p>See L.M. 111, p. 67, which Mr. Rodgers states to be the only known specimen of a <i>dasa</i> or one-tenth rupee of Akbar. One-tenth rupee. R. 3. Wt. 16. [PL XIII, 19.]</p>
20	Lahore Year 45, month Bahman	<p>Resembles the two-anna piece of Lahore in L.M. 194, p. 78, but the legends are arranged diagonally. <i>Rev.</i> بِسْمِ اللَّهِ لَا هُوَ نَصْرٌ</p>
		<p>One-eighth rupee, square. R. 4. Wt. 21. <i>Copper.</i></p>
21	Year 4-, month Khurdil	<p>Obv. نصْرٌ يَكْدِمُ رَبِي <i>Rev.</i> بِسْمِ اللَّهِ خُرَدَاد</p>
		<p>This is a different form of <i>damri</i> from that given in L.M. 247, p. 120. Damri. R. 5. Wt. 33. [PL XIII, 21.]</p>

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
JAHĀNGĪR.		
22	1015 Year 1	<p><i>Obe.</i> The Kalima. Over رسول, the figure of a bird in outline. Over محمد: ۱. Between رسول and الله a mint-mark ۲۳</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> نور الدین ۱۰۱۵ محمد جهانگیر باد شاد حرب</p> <p>The figure of a bird in outline across the حرب of جهانگیر.</p> <p>A new type of Kalima rupee. R 75. Wt. 175. [Pl. XIII, 22.]</p>
23	Agra 1020 Year 6	<p><i>Obe.</i> Area, in an irregular square.</p> <p>اکبر شاد</p> <p>جهانگیر</p> <p>Margins filled with a pattern of vines. Flowers are also scattered about the area. Double square outside.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> Area in a square, with a semi-circular recess on each side. The sides of the square and the semicircles prolonged so as to divide the margin into several segments.</p> <p>ستہ اکبر حرب</p> <p>Margins and area covered with flowers. Square. R 85. Wt. 175. [Pl. XIII, 23.]</p>

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
24	Qandahār 1027 Year 13	N.B.—This is probably the same as L.M. 45, p. 136, as to which Mr. C. J. Rodgers remarks, "This much worn rupee is unique." The coin here described is in good order. <i>Obe.</i> اکبر شاد شاد سنه نکر از جهان <i>Rev.</i> سکه قندھار قریب Half rupee. A.R. 6. Wt. 85. Now, as a half rupee of Qandahār.
25	1038 Year 1	SHĀH JAHĀN. <i>Obe.</i> On area, covered with flowers. The Kalima. Under it : <i>سر</i> 1038 <i>Rev.</i> خازم بادشاہ شاد جهان شہاب الدین صاحب قران A.R. 85. Wt. 175. [Pl. XIII, 25.] New variety of the rupee of the first year. <i>سنه</i> instead of <i>احمد</i> . 1038
26	Shāhjahānbād 1066 Year 30	<i>Obe.</i> Area in small circle. Kalima. Margins: <i>بصدق ای بکر | وعدل عمر | بازرم عثمان | وعلم علی</i>

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		<i>Rev.</i> Area in small circle.  Margin. The couplet. 
		R 1-1. Wt. 170. [PL XIII, 28.] A similar rupee of 1065 and year 28 has been described in L.M. 73, p. 171. It has never been figured, and that here described is in fine condition. B.M. 568 is a similar coin in gold.
27	Akbarābād Year 2	<i>Obv.</i>    <i>Rev.</i> As in B.M. 588.
28	Allāhābād 1037 Hijri	<i>Obv.</i> 

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		Rev. خاڙي شاه جهان باد شاه مدد شہاب الدین نے صاحب قران تا
		R. 75. Wt. 175. The only coins of Shah Jahān of Allāhābād hitherto edited are B.M. 606 and 623, which both differ from this. Compare B.M. 580 (Burhānpūr), also L.M. I, p. 160, both of which give the word Hijrī for the year 1037.
29	Surat Year 31	Both areas in small circles. Obr. Area. Kalima. Margin: .. بازرم عثمان و علم علي .. Rev. Area: بادشا خاڙي شہاد جہان Margin: شہاب الدین .. ضرب سورت : R. 9. Wt. 175. A type of Shah Jahān's rupees not yet figured.
30	Burhānpūr 1062	Areas in dotted squares. Date 1062 under Kalima. ضرب برہانپور on rev. margin. R. 8. Wt. 172. Differs from the ordinary type (B.M. 616), only in that the squares are dotted, not plain.
31	1068 Year 32	A rupee of ordinary type with square areas, but with the signs Υ over the ن of جہان and Ψ over the ش of شاء. Possibly these stand for Aries and Sagittarius. R. 8. Wt. 176. [Pl. XIII, 31.]

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
32	Multan Year 8	As the ordinary type of rupee with square areas, but new in this mint as a half-rupee. ~ on obv. beneath Kalima. نانہ on rev. in margin. Corroded surface. Half rupee. A.R. '65. Wt. 80.
33	Akbarshah 1049 Year 12	Obv. In double circle, plain and dotted.  Rev. In double circle, plain and dotted.  One-eighth rupee. A.R. '40. Wt. 21. [PL XIII, 33.]
34	Kashmir Year 2 (?)	Copper. Obv.  Rev.  Dām. A.E. '8. Wt. 260.
35	Bairata Year 7 (?)	Obv.  Rev.  Dām. A.E. '95. Wt. 311.

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		This is a different type from the copper coins of Bairātā hitherto published, and resembles the Udaipūr coin (L.M. 13, p. 178). [PL. XIV, 35.]
AURANGZEEB.		
36	Akbarābād 1095 Year 27	Square areas similar to B.M. 733, but <i>obv.</i> area omits شاء before خالم ^{كبير} . Date ۱۰۹۵ in margin after بیاندر. Year ۲۷ in <i>rev.</i> margin. R. 85. Wt. 175.
37	Allāhābād Year 2 (or 2-)	<i>Obv.</i> Usual couplet. <i>Rev.</i> ماتوس میمنت سنه چلوس خر الدنیا اباد R. 9. Wt. 176. [PL. XIV, 37.] A new mint of Aurangzeb.
38	Islāmābād 1106 Year 38	<i>Obv.</i> Usual couplet. ۱۱۰۶ after مہمند. <i>Rev.</i> At foot سنه عرب اسلام اباد See L.M., p. 188, Nos. 71 and 71 (both of 1107).
39	Kājak Year 46	Usual legends. On <i>rev.</i> سنه and عرب گنک Shroff-marked. R. 85. Wt. 180. [PL. XIV, 39.] The only rupees of the Kājak mint hitherto published are three of Farrukhsiyar (B.M. 907, 908, 914), and seven of Ahmad Shāh (L.M., pp. 69, 70, 71).

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
40	Güti 1107	<i>Obr.</i> Usual couplet. Two eight-pointed stars. <i>Rev.</i> ۱۱۰۸ after جلوس * سلیمانی خراب [کونی] R. 95. Wt. 177. [Pl. XIV, 40.] This mint has hitherto occurred only on the small gold coins of Farrukhsiyar (B.M. 901).
41	Mu'azzamābād 1118 Year 50	<i>Obr.</i> Usual couplet. Date ۱۱۱۸. <i>Rev.</i> مانوس هند میمنت پاد جلوس [کونی] R. 8. Wt. 177. Mu'azzamābād has only been noted on a gold coin of Raft'u'-d-darjāt (B.M. 937a). It is a name for Gorakhpur given in honour of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh, who bore the name Mu'azzam previous to his accession. The coin here given belongs to the last year of Aurangzeb, who was succeeded by Bahādur Shāh in A.D. 1119.
42	Akhāriābād 1078 Year 12	<i>Obr.</i> عالم گیری نثار سنه <i>Rev.</i> اکبر اباد خر ۱۰۷۸ One-sixteenth rupee, nisār. R. 35. Wt. 11.
43	-	<i>Obr.</i> عالم گیری بادشاہ

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		<p><i>Rsv.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">میہمت سنہ جلوس خراز</p> <p>One-sixteenth rupee. AR '4. Wt. 9. [Pl. XIV, 43.]</p> <p>These two small coins are silver annas. No. 42 is a nigar or jeton, while No. 43, which unfortunately has lost the mint town, appears to belong to the ordinary coinage. A similar coin to No. 42 has been published by K. No. 28, but No. 43 appears to be new.</p>
44	Haidarābād 1120 Year 2	<p><i>Obo.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">پاد کام بخش برخورشید و ماد دکن زد</p> <p><i>Rsv.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">مانوس میہمت جلوس حیدر آباد دارالجہاد</p> <p>AR '95. Wt. 171. [Pl. XIV, 44.]</p> <p>Gold coins of Haidarābād mint of Kumbakshah have been published by J. G. Delmeck (Proc. A.S.B., May 1884), and in B.M. 852, but none in silver. This coin was found near Jehlum in the Panjab. The appellation of Dāru'l-jihād was given to Haidarābād after the overthrow of the Kuthshahī dynasty by Aurungzeb in A.H. 1098 (A.D. 1687). (See Khāfi Khān, quoted in Elliott and Dowson's History of India, vol. vii, p. 336). W. Vost, in J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 45, states that the term was applied to Haidarābād (Sind), but it</p>

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		was evidently Haidarābād of the Dekkhan. The coin there given is attributed by him to the Tatta mint, but the letters read as Tatta are, I think, merely the strokes of the س of سانوس. See his pl. iii, No. xxvii, and the coin is doubtless one of the Haidarābād mint. Aurangzeb's first published coin is dated 1099, the year after the conquest (I. M. 64, p. 187). The other dates of Aurangzeb are 1108, 1114, and one of Muhammad Shāh is dated 1144 (<i>infra</i> No. 61).
45	Akbarnagar Year 2	<p style="text-align: center;">BAHĀDUR SHĀH (SHĀH 'ĀLAM I.)</p> <p><i>Obr.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">شاد خا زی عالیم باد ... سُلَطَنْ *</p> <p><i>Rev.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">سُلَطَنْ جلوس خوبی الکریم</p> <p>R. 8. Wt. 177. [PL. XIV, 45.] New mint of Bahādur Shāh. Not hitherto noted after the reign of Aurangzeb.</p>
46	Ahmadābād 1120 Year 3	<p><i>Obr.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">باد شاد خا زی شاد عالم بہادر سبارت ۱۱۲۰</p> <p><i>Rev.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">سانوس میمنت سُلَطَنْ جلوس خوبی احمد آباد</p> <p>R. 9. Wt. 172. A new mint of this king.</p>

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
47	Bijapur Dāru' z-zafar 1122 Year 4	<i>Obr.</i> As in No. 46. Date 1177. <i>Rev.</i> جلوس میمت مانو الظفر دار بیجانپور ضرب R. 9. Wt. 176. A new mint of this king.
48	Ettawā 1124 Year 1	JAHĀNDĀR. <i>Obr.</i> جهاندار شاد ابو الفتح خاز مهير و ماه در افاق زد چون احمد سنة ضرب آنکه R. 9. Wt. 174. A new mint of Jahāndār.
49	Ahmādābād 1124 Year 1	As in No. 48, but ضرب احمد آباد R. 9. Wt. 174. A new mint of Jahāndār.
50	Sahrind (Sorhind) 1124 Year 1	<i>Obr.</i> جهان بادشاه قران جهاندار شاد صاحب مهر زد سکه بر جوا R. 9. Wt. 174.

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		<p>Rev. As in No. 48, but خرب سہرند R. 85. Wt. 175. [PL XIV, 50.] A new mint of Jahāndār.</p>
		<p>FARRUKH-SIYAR.</p>
51	Ahmadābād 1125 Year 2	<p>Obe. بھروبر فرخ سر حق برسم وزر باد زد از فضل 1126</p> <p>Rev. As in No. 49, but دار R. 95. Wt. 172. A new mint of Farrukh-siyar.</p>
52	Ajmer Dāru'l-khair Year 7	<p>Obe. بھروبر فرخ سر باد حق برسم وزر فضل سکه زد از</p> <p>Rev. دار الخیر [اجمیر] فریض میمنت ماتوس جلوس v سنن</p> <p>R. 8. Wt. 176. [PL XIV, 52.]</p> <p>The epithet Dāru'l-Khair shows that the mint is Ajmer, which has not been before recorded among Farrukh-siyar's coins.</p>

No.	Mint and Date,		Inscription.
53	Barell Year 3	<i>Obe.</i>	أَزْفَلْ حَتْ سِبْمَاد <u>(بَادَابَسْرُو بَرْ فَرْخَ مَسْرُوكَ)</u> زَدْ بَرْ زَرْ
		<i>Rev.</i>	خَرْبَتْ كَنْدَهْ وَ بَرْ كَلْيَ
			R. 9. Wt. 172.
			Barell has not been recorded among the mints of Farrukh-siyar in silver. B.M. 893 gives it in gold, but the coin is barbarous and the mint very doubtful.
54	Kamīyat Year 7	<i>Obe.</i> and <i>Rev.</i> as in No. 51, but <u>كَنْدَهْ</u> and <u>خَرْبَتْ</u> كَنْبَاتْ	A new mint of Farrukh-siyar. R. 10. Wt. 173.
			RAFI'U'D-DARJAT.
55	Burhanpur 1131 Year 1	<i>Obe.</i>	رَفِعَ الْمَدْرَجَاتْ هَشْتَهْ شَابَخْرُو بَرْ 1131 بَاهْزَارَانْ بَرْ كَافِرْ زَدْ بَيْنَدْ
		<i>Rev.</i>	جَلْوَسْ مَانِوسْ مَيْمَنَتْ أَحَدْ دَارْ السَّرُورْ سَهْ خَرْبَتْ بَرْ هَانِبُورْ
			R. 95. Wt. 175.
			A new mint of this king.

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
56	Patna 1131 Year 1	<i>Obr.</i> As in 55, but differently arranged. <i>Rev.</i> مانوس میہمت احد جلوس ستہ خرب بختہ
		R '95. Wt. 178. [Pl. XIV, 56.]
		Patna is a mint not hitherto identified on the coins of Rāfi'u'd-darjat. B.M. 944 is doubtful. This is the latest recorded occurrence of this mint, as 'Azimābād generally takes its place after Aurangzeb's time.
57	Sahrind (Sarhind) 1131 Year 1	<i>Obr.</i> and <i>Rev.</i> as in No. 56, but خرب سہرند R '85. Wt. 175. A new mint of this king.
		MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM.
58	Shāhjahānābād 1132 Year 1	As in B.M. 956, but the date ۱۱۳۲ is on the left side of the inscription over the ل of فتحل. R '85. Wt. 175.
		MUHAMMAD SHĀH.
		Gold.
59	Bälāpur	<i>Obr.</i> محمد شاد <i>Rev.</i> بالبور
		N '25. Wt. 6. [Pl. XIV, 59.]
		This is a gold fanam of Bälāpur in Mysore. The existence of such a fanam is mentioned by Tafhell (Hints to Coin Collectors in S. India), but none has been published as far as I am aware. Elliott and Bidie do not mention it.

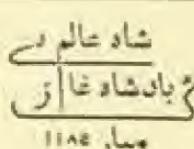
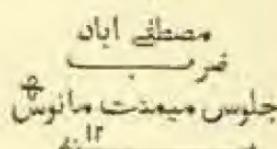
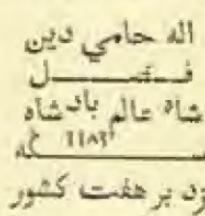
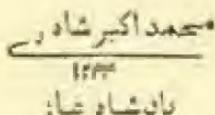
No.	Mint and Date,	Inscription.
60	Akhtarnagar 1132 Year 1	<p><i>Obr.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">محمد شادی بادشاہ قیامہ ز ۱۱۳۲ میاری</p> <p><i>Rev.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">مانوس معتمد احد جلوس نه فرب احتران</p>
		A.R. 9. Wt. 176. [Pl. XIV, 60.]
		<p>The mint of Akhtarnagar Oudh is given in L.M. Nos. 12 and 29 (pp. 211, 212), and the plate shows that this is the mint of B.M. 985 (given in the text as Akbar-nagar Oudh). The present coin is a new variety of Akhtarnagar (without Oudh). The mint was named after Roshan Akhtiar, Muhammad Shah's name before his accession.</p>
61	Haidarabād Farkhandā- bunyād 114— Year 14 (?)	<p><i>Obr.</i> As in No. 60. Date ۱۱۴— under ۱۱۴۰, and year ۱۴ (?) over ۹ of شادی.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">مانوس [] معتمد جلوس فرخند بخیان صریح حیدر اباد</p>
		A.R. 95. Wt. 176. [Pl. XIV, 61.]
		<p>A new mint of Muhammad Shah. Remarkable as giving the earliest example of the epithet 'Farkhandā-bunyād,' afterwards used on the coins of the Nizams, and also on some coins struck in the names of the Emperors Akbar II and Bahādur Shah. See <i>infra</i> Nos. 71 and 73. See note under No. 44 for the previous use of Dāru'l-jihād. Haidarabād is alluded to as Farkhandā-bunyād by Khāfi Khan in A.H. 1186 (E.D., vol. vii, p. 527).</p>

No.	Mint and Date.		Inscription.
62	Lahore Year 2	<i>Obv.</i>	محمد شاہ بادشاہ غاز
		<i>Rev.</i>	[می] میت [دار] السلطنه لاهور ثرب
			One-eighth rupee. A.R. 46. Wt. 21.
			[PL. XIV, 62.]
			The fractional currency of Muhammad Shāh is very rare, and no 2-anna piece of the Lahore mint has yet been edited.
			AHMAD SHĀH.
63	Shāhibād Qamauj 1166 Year 5	<i>Obv.</i>	احمد شاہ بہادر بادشاہ غاز سکه مبار
		<i>Rev.</i>	مانوس میمت ستہ جلوس ثرب شکا اباد قنوج
			A.R. 6. Wt. 170.
			A new mint of Ahmad Shāh. The only coins of this mint hitherto published are of Muhammad Shāh.
			'ALAMGIR II.
64	Arkit Year 3	<i>Obv.</i>	عزیز الدین غازی بادشاہ

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		<i>Rev.</i> مانوس میمانت سنه ۷ جلوس ضرب ارکات
		N - 7. Wt. 165.
		No mohar of 'Alamgir II's coinage of Arkat has been published, although half mohars of the E.I.C. are known. The long stroke of the ۷ shows that the mint is Arkat, as does the general style of the coin.
65	Islamabad 1167 Year 1	<i>Obe.</i> عالمگیر <u>۱۱۶۷</u> بادشاہ خان سکہ مبار <i>Rev.</i> اسلام ایاد ضرب میمانت مانوس <u>جلوس احمد</u> <u>۱۱۶۸</u>
		R - 95. Wt. 171.
		A new mint of 'Alamgir II.
66	Gwaliar 1167 Year 1	<i>Obe.</i> الدین عالمگیر ثانی <u>۱۱۶۷</u> صاحبقراء عزیز نے زد سکہ <i>Rev.</i> مانوس میمانت سنه احمد جلوس ضرب [گو] ایاد
		R - 95. Wt. 173.

No.	Mint and Date,	Inscription.
		No rupee, after Muhammad Shāh, has been hitherto described of this mint. For couplet see L.M., No. 3, p. 220.
67	Murādābād 1171 Year 6	<p>Obe. As in No. 65, but عاليٰ سنه کیر ۱۱۷۱ ۶</p> <p>Rev. مانوس میہمت جلوس سنه خود اپار مراد آباد</p>
		R. 9. Wt. 173.
		With the exception of the unique rupee of Aurangzeb of 1097 (L.M., 49, p. 186) the issues of the mint of Murādābād seem to have been confined to a very limited period, the known coins being only of Ahmad Shāh, 1167 (B.M., No. 1057), the coin here described of 'Alamgīr II of 1171, and four of Shāh 'Alam of 1176 (L.M.), 1180, and 1182 (L.M.) and 1189 (No. 70a infra). The coinage of the invader Ahmad Shāh Durrānī of 1174 comes within the same period. The crescent mint-mark, which appears on several of these coins, including both of those here described, has not been explained.
68	Year 2	<p>'ALI GOHAR</p> <p>(name of Shāh 'Alam II previous to accession).</p> <p>Obe.</p> <p>[.] علیٰ گوہر بادشاہ غاز</p>

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
	<i>Rev.</i>	مانوس میمنت سنه جلوس فرمی
	R. 9. Wt. 174. [Pl. XIV, 68.]	Another similar coin, formerly in my possession, and given by me to Mr. C. J. Rodgers, is now in the Lahore Museum (L.M., 21, p. 227). Mr. Rodgers thought the mint might be Pūna. For a similar mint-mark see No. 72 <i>infra</i> , and one of similar fabric given by Dr. Hoernle (in J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 275, No. 76 on pl. xxxiv), which is on native authority attributed to the Peshwas.
63	Burhānpur 1188 Year 14	The coin here described is the only one on which the word <u>کھر</u> appears in full, and there can be little hesitation in attributing it to Shāh 'Ālam, probably during the lifetime of 'Alamgīr II.
	SHĀH 'ĀLAM II.	
	<i>Obv.</i>	الله حامي دين فخیل شاغالم بادشاہ کھر رد بر هلت کشور
	<i>Rev.</i>	مانوس میمنت سنه دار الشرور فرمی گرہانپور
	R. 85. Wt. 178. [Pl. XIV, 69.]	A new mint of Shāh 'Ālam, and the last appearance of the Burhānpur mint on the coinage of the Mughals.

No.	Mint and Date.		Inscription.
70	Mustafa-ābād 1185 Year 12	Obv.	 شاه عالم رے بادشاہ غاز ۱۱۸۵ مبارک
		Rev.	 مصحفی ایاد نمر جلوس میعمدت مانوس ۱۲
			R. 85. Wt. 170.
			The only coin of this mint hitherto published is that given by Captain Vost in J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 46, pl. iii, 29. That rupee is of the year 1184, and is described as unique. The mint-mark, which here appears in the curve of the س of مانوس, is not visible in the plate of Captain Vost's coin, and appears to be a new shape.
70a	Muradābād 1189 Year 16	Obv.	 الله حامی دین فتح شاه عالم بادشاہ ۱۱۸۹ زد بر هفت کشور
		Rev.	As in No. 67. Year 17. Mint-mark, star in curve of س of مانوس and جلوس.
			R. 9. Wt. 168. [Pl. XIV, 70.]
			AKBAR II.
71	Haidarābād (Farkhanda- bunyād) 1244	Obv.	 محمد اکبر شاه رے ۱۲۴۴ بادشاہ غاز

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Rev.</i></p> <p>مانوس سنه سيمشت جلوس فرخندد بنیاد شیر ب</p> <p style="text-align: right;">AR .9. Wt. 173.</p> <p>A new mint of Akbar II. Bears the mint-mark of the Nizām.</p>
72	1231	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Obr.</i></p> <p>بادشاہ غاز سکھ مبار</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Rev.</i></p> <p>سيمشت جلوس ۲ ۹۲۳۹ شیر نا ایاد موحد [.]</p> <p style="text-align: right;">AR .85. Wt. 173.</p> <p>See note under No. 68. This is similar to Dr. Hoernle's coin, which is, however, of another date (1243). The date 1231 shows that it must be referred to Akbar II. It is remarkable in that the figures are Nāgari and not Persian in both coins. The mint is illegible.</p>
73	Haidarāvād 1274 Year 18	<p style="text-align: center;">BAHĀDUR SHĀH II.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Silver.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Obr.</i></p> <p>محمد بهادر بادشاہ غاز سکھ مبارا</p>

No.	Mint and Date.	Inscription.
		<p><i>Rev.</i></p> <p>ج[ا]ءو س میہمنت [مانوس] ان فرخندہ بیان خرب حیدر آباد</p> <p>R. 85. Wt. 173. [Pl. XIV, 73.]</p>
74	Najibabad 1263	<p><i>Copper.</i></p> <p><i>Obv.</i></p> <p>بها سنا الـ کبر [.]</p> <p><i>Rev.</i></p> <p>آباد حیب خرب * ۱</p> <p>R. 75. Wt. 95. [Pl. XIV, 74.]</p> <p>A very late issue of the Najibabad mint, which had at this date (1846 A.D.) been long under the E.I.C. The only copper coin I know of Bahadur Shah. The obverse is confused. It is possible that the letters which can be read are a blundered form of</p> <p>پهادر شاہ اکبر شاہ</p>

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

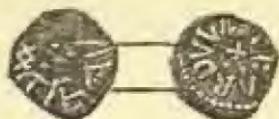
MISCELLANEA.

UNPUBLISHED STYCAS OF ÆLFWALD I AND ÆTHELBED I.—It has long been accepted that the coinage of the *scutitas*, or earlier type of the coins of Northumbria, ceased with Ælfwald I,¹ whilst the period of the coinage of the *styca*, or later type, has been only surmised.² The two following unpublished and, so far, unique *stycas*, which are in my collection, will probably solve the latter question.

ÆLFWALD I.

Obv.—ÆLFWLD^X Cross of five dots in the centre.

Rev.—+EARDVVLF. Cross in the centre.



This *styca*, which I attribute to Ælfwald I, A.D. 778-788, is of brass, and in fine condition, but unfortunately, the first and last letters of the obverse legend are indistinct, owing to corrosion, though there appear to be faint traces of the letter E at the beginning, and of the letter L at the end, thus making the legend read **ÆLFWLD^X**.

As will be seen in the above woodcut, the letters on the obverse are dissimilar in character to those on the ordinary *styca*, but the letter ^X is peculiar to the *scutitas* of Ælfwald I. The reverse legend appears to have been engraved by a different hand; the letters, however, are of the character appearing on a *scutita* of the same king.³

It would seem, from the above, that Ælfwald I issued the last *scutita* as well as the first *styca*⁴ of Northumbria.

¹ *R. M. Cat.*, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i., p. xxvii., note.

² *Nest. Chron.*, Ser. iii., vol. xvii., p. 136.

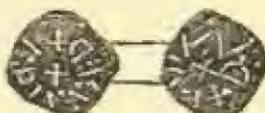
³ *Idea.*, Pl. VII. 4.

⁴ The *stycas* hitherto attributed to Egfrith, A.D. 670-685, are doubtful.

ÆTHELRED I.

Obv. — + EDIERED. (Retrograde.) Cross in the centre.

Rev. — + EDIFV^D Cross in the centre.



I assign this stycia to Æthelred I, during his restoration or second reign, A.D. 790-794. It is in fine condition.

Edilith was also moneyer to Eardulf, A.D. 796-806, and coined stycia for him, two of which are in my collection. On comparing the reverse of one³ of them with the reverse of this stycia, it is apparent that they were both struck from the same die. The peculiarities of each are common to both, such as the junction of the lower portion of the letter **E** with the end of one of the limbs of the centre cross; the flaw or bifurcation of the central limb of the letter **E** at its junction with the vertical limb; a similar flaw or bifurcation of the right limb of the letter **V**; and the shortening of the right limb of the initial cross in the legend. The other coin of Eardulf does not show any of these peculiarities.

A. B. CREWE.

A UNIQUE NAVAL REWARD, "THE BRETON MEDAL."—The following account of an interesting naval reward medal has been supplied to me by Mr. L. Bardasano, of the *Advertiser*, Guernsey, who has also sent a photograph of it, from which I am able to give the following description:—

Obv. — Sea with ships; a French squadron of five ships engaging three English war-ships. Leg. ★
HMS *Crescent* Sir JAMES SAUMAREZ &
DRUID Capt. ELLISON Engaging the ENEMY
to prevent HMS *Eurydice* from FALLING IN
their HANDS.

Rev. — Sea with ships, similar to the obverse, but the position of the vessels varied. In the foreground

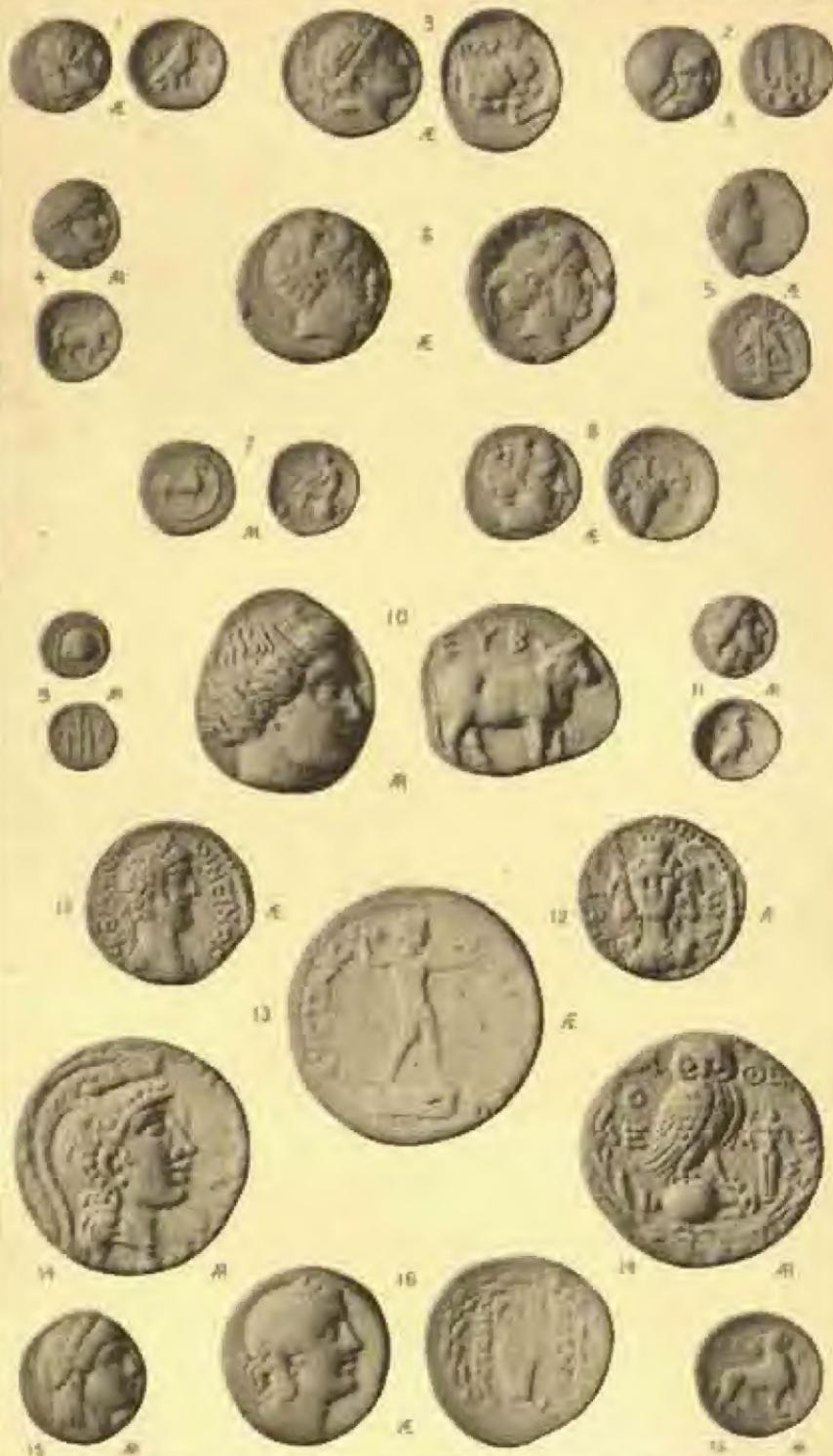
³ Mr. Nathan Heywood has a stycia of Eardulf with exactly the same reverse.

the British ensign and a house, and stamp of the English silver hall-mark for 1794. *Leg. **
GIFT of Major GENERAL SMALL to Mr. John Breton PILOT to HMS Crescent As A REWARD of his Merit done the 8th JUNE 1794 off GUERNSEY.

Silver-gilt. Size 3·8 inches.

Entirely engraved, and with loop for suspension. The particulars connected with the award of this medal to the pilot, John Breton, are :—On the 8th June, 1794, the *Crescent*, frigate, commanded by Captain Sir James Saumarez, accompanied by the *Druid*, frigate, and *Eurydice*, a twenty-four-gun ship, fell in with, off the island of Jersey, and was chased by, a French squadron, consisting of two cut-down seventy-fours, each mounting fifty-four guns, two frigates, and a brig. Sir James, perceiving the vast superiority of the enemy, ordered the *Eurydice*, which was the worst sailer, to make the best of her way to Guernsey, whilst the *Crescent* and *Druid* followed under easy sail, occasionally engaging the French ships and keeping them at bay, until the *Eurydice* had gained some distance ahead, when they made all possible sail to get off. The enemy's squadron, however, gained upon them so rapidly that they must have been taken but for a bold and masterly manœuvre. Sir James, seeing the perilous situation of his consorts, hauled his wind and stood along the French line, an evolution which immediately attracted the enemy's attention, and the capture of the *Crescent* seemed for some time to be inevitable. Among the Guernsey men on board the *Crescent* was an experienced King's pilot, John Breton, a native of St. Saviour's parish, well acquainted with all the rocks and currents round the island. He pushed the frigate through numerous intricate passages, where a king's ship had never before sailed, and singularly enough approached so near the shore of the Castel parish, that Sir James could distinctly see his own house. Success attended this bold experiment and the *Crescent* effected her escape into Guernsey roads, greatly to the disappointment of her pursuers, who counted on an easy and certain triumph. Major-General Small, who was Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey from 1794-1796, with a multitude of the inhabitants, beheld the whole of these naval evolutions from the Guernsey shore, and as a reward to Breton for his pluck and skill presented him with the above-described medal. The present owner of the medal is Mr. H. Turner, of Mill Street, St. Peter's-Port, Guernsey.

H. G.









XIX.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1901.

(See Plates XV., XVI., XVII.)

The total number of coins of the Greek series (see the unnnexed table) acquired during the year 1901 is 1,069. This unusually large total includes a collection of 686 coins, chiefly of Gaul, formed by M. Léon Morel, of Rheims. Although this collection does not appear to include many varieties not already to be found in the extensive work of Muret and De La Tour, it is a welcome addition to the British Museum, where the Gaulish coin series has been, hitherto, most inadequately represented.

Most of the acquisitions have been obtained by purchase, but some are presentations due to the kindness of the Rev. A. Dixon, Sir John Evans, Messrs. F. W. Lincoln and Son, Mr. W. T. Ready, Mr. John Ward, of Belfast, and Sir Hermann Weber. As in my fourteen previous papers,¹

¹ Important Greek acquisitions of the Department of Coins from the year 1887 onwards will be found described by me in the *Nумismatic Chronicle* for 1888, p. 1 f.; 1889, p. 249 f.; 1890, p. 311 f.; 1891, p. 116 f.; 1892, p. 1 f.; 1893, p. 1 f.; 1894, p. 1 f.; 1895, p. 80 f.; 1896, p. 85 f.; 1897, p. 98 f.; 1898, p. 97 f.; 1899, p. 85 f.; 1900, p. 1 f., and p. 273 f. In preparing this paper I have once more had the advantage of consulting the section on Greek coins written by Mr. Barclay Head for the Parliamentary *Return* of the British Museum (1902), and I am also much indebted for several valuable suggestions to Mr. Head and Mr. G. F. Hill.

I give some account of the more noteworthy specimens. I have not, however, referred to acquisitions of many Phrygian and other coins which are likely to be described, before long, in volumes of the Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED 1887—1901.

Year.	Gold and Electrum.	Silver.	Bronze, &c.	Total.
1887	8	58	110	176
1888	10	217	228	455
1889	12	65	270	347
1890	5	102	70	177
1891	16	280	73	359
1892	10	99	348	457
1893	4	118	281	403
1894	31	164	453	648
1895	20	178	479	677
1896	54	428	170	632
1897	20	313	503	836
1898	3	222	699	924
1899	1	112	372	485
1900	1	310	604	915
1901	38	411	620	1,069
Total . .	233	3,077	6,280	8,590

APHYTIS (MACEDONIAN CHALCIDICE).

1. *Obe.*—Head of Zeus Ammon r., horned, beardless.

Rev.—A φΥ Eagle standing r., wings closed; circular incuse.

A.E. Size ·5. Fourth cent. B.C.; before 358.
[Pl. XV. 1.]

The usual obverse on the coins of Aphytis is a head of Zeus Ammon, whose cultus was of chief importance (Paus.

iii. 18, 2; Plut. *Lys.* 20; Steph. Byz.). The god is represented either bearded or (as in this case) beardless,³ this dual representation being not uncommon in the case of Ammon. Thus we find both the young and the bearded head on the coins of Tenos, Cyrene, Mytilene and Lesbos (hecte) and doubtless at other places.

The usual reverse type is an eagle⁴ or sometimes two eagles (Head, *Cat. Macedonia*, p. 61, No. 5). These eagle types have not been explained. The two eagles stand facing one another and recall the "golden eagles" of Zeus connected with the Delphic omphalos,⁴ yet here they can hardly be Apolline types. In *Cat. Macedonia*, "Aphytis," No. 3, the two facing "eagles" might be as well, or better, described (as Mr. Head has suggested) as doves. The reverse of this coin (No. 3) is, in fact, an almost exact reproduction of a reverse at Scione where doves are evidently intended (Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, ii. p. 125, No. 5). On the other coins of Aphytis, however, it is certainly an *eagle* that is represented.

POTIDAIA (MACEDONIAN CHALCEIDIC).

2. Obv.—Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev.—POT Trident.
(ΙΞ?)

A. Size .5. [Pl. XV. 2.]

The bronze coins of Potidaea are rare, and this piece is

³ Cf. the coins in Imhoof, *Monn. gr.*, p. 64.

⁴ Some types, namely kantharos (*Cat. Maced.* No. 1) and bunch of grapes (Hirsch in *Annuaire*, 1884, p. 96), refer to the Dionysos of the city mentioned in Xen., *Hell.* v. 3, 19.

* J. M. *Cat. Mysia*, p. 32, No. 100, note; Städtniecka in *Hermes*, vol. xxxvii, p. 258 f: "Ehe Corruptel im Ion des Euripides."

unpublished. The types represented in this metal are as follows:

- i. Head of Athena r., in Corinthian helmet.

Rev.—ΠΟΤ Pegasos flying r.

Inhoof Coll., *Mann. gr.*, p. 91; No. 112 = Head.
H. N., p. 188.

- ii. Athena and trident types (see No. 2 *supra*).

- iii. Female head with earring r.

Rev.—(Π)ΟΤ(ΕΙ) Ball butting r.

(Berlin: Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, ii. p. 124, No. 6.
Athens: Postolaeen, *Monumenti dell'Inst.*, viii.
pl. xxxii, 3; cf. Inhoof, *Mann. gr.*, p. 91; p. 183.

Mr. Head in his *Historia* has expressed (p. 188) the opinion that the coinage of Potidaea came to an end with the blockade of the city by the Athenians in B.C. 432-429. The bronze pieces just described (especially Nos. i. and ii.) seem, however, to furnish evidence that the Potidaean coinage, at any rate in bronze, lasted longer than has been supposed. It can hardly be doubted that Nos. i. and ii. are modelled on the coinage of Corinth, where coinage in bronze does not begin till *circ.* B.C. 400. The trident type, in particular, recalls the bronze coins with this type struck at Corinth B.C. 400-300 (Head, *Cat. Corinth*, pl. xiv, 1-8). The Potidaean coins, then, were probably not minted earlier than *circ.* B.C. 400. They are certainly not later than *circ.* B.C. 358, when Philip II seized the city and handed it over to the Olynthians: B.C. 400-358 will then be the approximate date of their issue.²

* In B.C. 382 Potidaea was in the occupation of the Olyn-

The adoption of the types of Corinth by Potidaea is not surprising,⁶ for close ties bound the two cities together. Not only was Corinth the mother city of Potidaea, but she every year sent to Potidaea certain of her own citizens as magistrates (*Epidemurygi*). When Potidaea, at the critical period in her history, n.c. 432-429, threw off the yoke of Athens, Corinth was her instigator and ally.

PAUSANIAS, KING OF MACEDON. n.c. 390-389.

3. *Obr.*—Young male head r., bound with taenia.

Rev.—ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ Β [NI] Α Forepart of lion r.

R. Size .75. [Pl. XV. 3.]

(Re-struck; on *obr.* **BOTT** and traces of types (bull's tail? &c.); on *rev.* head r.).

The types are well known, but this specimen has some interest through being re-struck on a coin of Bottiae (in the Chalcidice) that was issued at the time of the Chalcidian League, *circ.* n.c. 392. The original coin appears to have been similar to one described in Imhoof, *Monn. gr.*, p. 66, No. 6: *Obv.* Female head r. *Rev.* **BOTTIA ΙΩΝ** Butting bull r.

AENUS (THRACE).

4. *Obr.*—Head of Hermes r., in petaso.

Rev.—ΑΙΝΙ Goat r., nearer foreleg raised, and beneath it, crab: incuse square.

R. Size .45. Wt. 19·6 grs. [Pl. XV. 4.]

thians. In 364 it was taken by Timotheus, the Athenian general,

* The trident, though primarily Corinthian, may have had a peculiar appropriateness for the Potidaeans as being the attribute of their Poseidon Hippios.

(A similar diobol, Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, i. p. 121, No. 15; cf. B. M. Cat. Thrace, "Aenus," No. 8, tetrobol with crab symbol.) Presented by Mr. John Ward.

APOLLONIA PONTICA (THRACE).

5. Obv.—Head of Apollo r. [laureate].

Rev.—ΔΙΧΑΛΚΙΗ Anchor inverted; beneath left fluke, Α; beneath right fluke, cray-fish; in field, r., Ε.

A. (black glassy patina). Size .55. Wt. 38·4 grs. Fourth cent. n.c. [Pl. XV. 5.]

A similar reverse inscription has been read by Dr. Pick² on specimens less well preserved. The coin here published proves the correctness of the reading. Pick explains the legend as ΔΙΧΑΛΚ(ΟΥ), regarding ΙΗ as unexplained letters which do not, however, seem to be marks of value. ΔΙΧΑΛΚΟΝ is inscribed on Α of Chios of Imperial times.³

LARISSA (THERSALY).

6. Obv.—Horse r., trotting; above, ΟΞ: border of dots. (Similar to B. M. Cat. Thessaly, p. 28, No. 43.)

Rev.—Α ΡΙ ΠΑΛ The nymph Larissa seated l. on hydria; she wears chiton, which has fallen back so as to leave left arm and shoulder bare; on her right foot is a sandal; her left leg is extended and rests on her right knee; in her right hand she holds sandal; her left hand draws back chiton. On the ground in front, a ball; whole in incuse square.

A. Size .5. Wt. 18·9 grs. [Pl. XV. 7.] Fourth cent. n.c.

² Pick in *Herm.*, 1898, p. 225 (with references to Imhoff-Bünter and Tacchella).

³ Head, *Cat. Ionia*, p. 941; Babelon, *Traité*, i. p. 465.

A very rare obol, not quite in the finest state of preservation, yet presenting an interesting addition to the charming series of types of which the nymph Larissa is the subject.⁹

A glance at any good collection of the coins—such as that described in the British Museum Catalogue of Thessaly—readily reveals the simple series of incidents that the Larissaeon artist wished to depict. The maiden has set out for the lion-headed fountain to draw water in her hydria (cp. *Cat. Thess.*, pl. iv. 11). She lingers on the way, and as she rests for a time upon a seat improvised out of the water-jar, she thinks—like Nausikaa—of beguiling time with a game of ball (Pl. iv. 15). During her innocent diversion of bouncing the ball to earth, of throwing it high in the air and running to catch it (cp. pl. iv. 16),¹⁰ the strap of a sandal becomes loose and she stoops to fasten it (pl. v. 8).¹¹ But this “careless shoe-string” again gives trouble. The sandal comes off, and (as our coin shows) Larissa has to sit down on the hydria to fasten it with greater care.

PHALANNA (TRESSALY).

7. *Obr.*—Young male head r., hair short; behind, Τ; border of dots.

Rev.—ΦΑΛ Α[ΝΝΑΙΩΝ]. Female head r., wearing *sukkos* with tassel, earring and necklace fastened behind; behind neck, pellet; circular incuse.

A. Size ·8. [Pl. XV. 6.]

⁹ Another specimen is in the Inboof-Blumer Collection.

¹⁰ Cp. the representations of women playing ball in the vase paintings; e.g. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases*, i., p. 16; ii., p. 191; 276, &c.

¹¹ Compare the figure of a woman stooping to attach her sandal on a kylix, in Murray, *Designs from Greek Vases in Brit. Mus.*, pl. iv., 14.

Coin of this type are well known, but the style, especially of the reverse, can be well studied on our specimen. Certainly the style seems to suggest the middle of the fourth century, or, less precisely, the period B.C. 350-300.¹² Professor Gardner has assigned all the pieces of this type to the period B.C. 300-190, yet, at any rate, the best-executed examples, such as *Cat. Thessaly*, No. 4, pl. viii. 15, and p. 41, No. 10, must surely belong to the fourth and not to the third century.

Gardner calls the obverse head "Ares"? no doubt because it bears some resemblance to the head on the gold staters of Philip II., which he maintains to be Ares and not Apollo. If the head at Phalanna is not admitted to be Ares, it must be allowed to be some warrior connected with Phalanna or its neighbourhood. For on a bronze coin of the place (in the Imhoof-Blumer collection) we find a beardless head wearing a helmet.

The female head, called by Gardner a "nymph," may be the Phalanna after whom the city was supposed to be named. Steph. Byz.: Φάλαννα, πόλις Περραιβίας, ἀπὸ Φαλάννης τῆς Τυροῦ θυγατρός.

SCOTUSIA (THESSALY).

S. Obv.—Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin.

Rev.—Σ [Κ] Ο Bunch of grapes on stalk; circular incuse.

A.E. Size .6. B.C. 400-307. [Pl. XV. 8.]

This combination of types is unpublished; though the bunch of grapes and Herakles (here of a pleasing and

¹² Mr. Head (Brit. Mus. Parliamentary Return for 1902) dates the coin circa, B.C. 350.

somewhat unconventional style) are already known on coins of Scotussa.¹³

HALIARTUS (BOEOTIA).

9. *Obr.*—Half Boeotian shield.

Rev.—**A R** Trident, downwards; traces of incuse.

R. Size 35. Wt. 6·4. [Pl. XV. 9.]

An unpublished hemi-obol, struck B.C. 387-374. A trident adorns the shield on the staters of Haliartus of this period and is the symbol of the Poseidon of Onchestus.¹⁴

EUBOEA (ERETHRIA?).

10. *Obr.*—Head of nymph r., hair rolled.¹⁵

Rev.—**EYB** Bull or cow standing r.; traces of circular incuse.

R. Size 1·05. Wt. 246·3 grs. [Pl. XV. 10.]

A nearly identical specimen of this coin was published by Imhoof-Blumer (*G. M.*, p. 536; pl. i. 20), from his own collection. The Photiades specimen (Catal., lot 452, reading **EYBOI**) passed into the Berlin Museum

¹³ See e.g. *B. M. Cat. Thessaly*, p. 40; *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 918.

¹⁴ Head, *H. N.* p. 293.

¹⁵ I can see no clear traces on this specimen of the broad band that Mahler (*Journ. internat.*, 1900, p. 194) declares to exist on the specimen published by Imhoof, *G. M.*, pl. i. 20. Dressel describes the Photiades specimen as having a circular earring. In the case of our coin, I am inclined to think, as Mr. Head does, that the circular object may be the lobe of the ear represented rather big, as it is on the corresponding drachms in *Cat. Central Greece*, p. 94, Nos. 1-6.

and has been described by Dressel in *Z. f. N.*, xxi., p. 215; pl. v. 3. These coins were probably struck at Eretria towards the end of the fifth century B.C., when Euboea was independent of Athens.¹⁶ Drachms with a similar female head are assigned in Head's *Central Greece* (p. 94, No. 1-6) to B.C. 411-387.

Mahler, writing (*Journ. Internat.*, 1900, p. 194 f.) on Dr. Imhoof's specimen, compares the obverse with a head in the Louvre usually called "Apollo," which he considers to belong to the school of Polycleitus.

ERETRIA (EUBOEA).

11. Obv.—**MKOMANT WNEINOC** Bust of Commodus r., laur., bearded; border of dots.

Rev.—**EPETPI E WN** Triple bust; the central facing head is youthful and wears head-dress (a kalathos containing fruits?); on each side a (bearded?) head (without head-dress) in profile: border of dots.

Æ . Size 85. [Pl. XV. 12.]

A similar specimen of this rare coin belonged to H. P. Borrell and was published by him in *Num. Chron.* vi. 145. He describes the two side faces as "bearded male profiles," and the central as a female head "with a circlet crown." On our specimen the side faces certainly appear to be bearded, though it is just possible that the supposed beards may be due to abrasions of the surface of the coin. If the three heads are really *females*, the type would fairly well resemble the representations of Ἐκάτη τριπρόσωπος that we knew from gems, reliefs, &c. If, however, the

¹⁶ Cp. Imhoof, *G. M.*, p. 595; Head, *Cat. Central Greece*, p. lix.

profiles be male, we may adopt a recent suggestion of Mr. Head's that the central face is that of Demeter joined with the two Cabiri, with whose cultus she was sometimes associated.¹⁷

ATHENS.

12. *Obv.*—Head of Athena Parthenos r., in helmet; border of dots.

Rev.—**A ΟΕ** Owl r., on amphora; in field, r., naked
O figure (Harmodius) standing facing;
ΔΕ Μ Ο right hand raised, brandishing sword;
Σ left hand holds sheath: whole in olive wreath.

R. Size 1·2. Wt. 246·6 grs. [Pl. XV. 14.]

The British Museum has long lacked a specimen of this interesting tetradrachm, which was struck probably *circ.* B.C. 83, subsequent to the capture of Athens by Sulla (A.C. 86). The type is well known since Köhler's publication in *Z. f. N.*, xii. (1885) p. 103.¹⁸

AEGIUM (ACHALA).

13. *Obv.*—**ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΑΥΓΟ[ΥCTOC]** Bust of Antoninus Pius r., laur.

Rev.—**ΖΕΥCΠΑΙC ΑΙΓ[ΙΕΩΝ]** Statue of the boy Zeus standing r. on pedestal, with right foot slightly raised; body naked; hair short; right hand raised to hurl thunderbolt; on outstretched left hand eagle about to fly r.

R. Size 1·35. [Pl. XV. 13, rev.]

¹⁷ Brit. Mus. Parliamentary *Return*, 1902; cp. Daremberg and Saglio, p. 767. In the introduction to *Cat. Central Greece*, Head quoted Borrell's description, and suggested that the type was a representation of the moon in her three phases.

¹⁸ See also Head, *Cat. Attica*, p. lvi.; Imhoof and Gardner, *Comm. on Paes.*, p. 148; pl. DD., xiv.-xviii.; Sallet in *Z. f. N.*, xii., p. 62, pl. iii. 4, on the specimen in the Berlin Museum.

This specimen was formerly in the collection of M. Kambanis, and though it has already been well described by Svoronos,¹⁹ I am reluctant to omit it from the list of our principal acquisitions. The reverse legend leaves no doubt that a representation of Zeus as a boy is intended, and the figure can be better studied here than on some of the smaller coins of Aegium on which the same type occurs.

Pausanias (vii., 24, 4)²⁰ saw at Aegium a bronze statue of the boy Zeus (*Zeūs τε ἑλασίαν παιῖν*) by the Argive sculptor Ageladas, and there can be no reasonable doubt that this is the statue intended to be represented on this coin.²¹ The youthful god stands, with one foot slightly raised, in a formal attitude, holding his thunderbolt in one hand and his eagle in the other; this motive is in keeping with what would be expected of Ageladas, especially when we compare it with what is known of his statue of Zeus Ithomatas, reproduced on the coins of Messene.²²

FEDERATION OF ACHAAN CITIES.

14. Obv.—Female head l., wearing necklace and circular earring with pendant; her hair is rolled, tied in a knot on the crown of the head, and falls behind in a wavy mass; some loose tresses touch the face and neck.

¹⁹ *Journ. Internat.*, 1899, p. 802; pl. xiv. 11.

²⁰ See Imhoof and Gardner, *Nom. Comm.*, p. 85; pl. R, xii., xiii.

²¹ Ageladas, or, more correctly, Ageluidas (or Hagelaïdas), apparently worked *circa* B.C. 520-455: see A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpt.*, i. pp. 185-190; Collignon, *Sculpt. gr.*, i. p. 317; E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpt.*, p. 192 f.; cp. Miss C. A. Hutton in *Annual of British School, Athens*, iii., 150; Mahler, *Polyklet und seine Schule*, pp. 13, 14.

²² Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 381, figs. 288, 299; Imhoof and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 67; pl. P, iv. and v.; Collignon, i. p. 318.

Rev.—ΑΧΑΙΩΝ. Zeus, wearing himation over lower limbs and left shoulder, seated L. on throne, the right side-arm of which is supported by a sphinx; in his outstretched right arm eagle L.; his left hand rests on long sceptre; his feet rest on footstool; in field, L., crested helmet: circular incuse (double struck).

A. Size 1·05. Wt. 185·2. [Pl. XVI. 4.]

This coin, an Aeginetic didrachm, is believed to have been found near Levadeia (Lebadea in Boeotia). It is unique, but is related to a series of drachms and hemi-drachms that have been known for many years.²³ These lesser denominations have the same female head on the obverse and on the reverse the inscription **ΑΧΑΙΩΝ**²⁴ (type, Athena charging). In 1873, when publishing the British Museum hemi-drachm, Prof. P. Gardner described it as unquestionably pre-Alexandrine in style (*circa. B.C. 340*) and attributed it to the old league of the cities of Achaea. Later on, however, Mr. Gardner brought down the date to B.C. 302-286 and assigned the coin (*B. M. Cat. Thessaly*) to Achaea Phthiotis, in Thessaly. This Thessalian attribution is also maintained by Imhoof-Blumer and Weil.²⁵

The discovery of our coin, which is in much better condition than the smaller pieces, furnishes fresh material for the discussion of date and attribution. The new didrachm, as can hardly be denied, has distinct affinities with the fine Peloponnesian staters issued a few years before the middle of the fourth century. A comparison with the coins

²³ Gardner, *Nom. Chron.*, 1873, p. 182; *B. M. Cat. Thessaly*, p. 48; p. xxix.; Imhoof-Blumer, *Moum. gr.*, p. 156; Weil, *Z. f. N. ix.* (1882), p. 241.

²⁴ Both on the didrachm and on the Brit. Mus. hemi-drachm each letter of the inscription appears with an incuse background,

of Stymphalus, Messene, and Pheneus²² suggests the period B.C. 370-360 as the approximate date of our didrachm. It can hardly be said that the attribution to Achaia Phthiotis rests on cogent historical or numismatic grounds. Certain Thessalian coins, indeed, bear the monogram ΑΧ, but in such cases the town-name is inscribed in addition. Here the inscription ΑΧΑΙΩΝ gives no hint of Phthiotis, and it seems much better to refer it to the well-known Achaeans of the Peloponnese. There seems, then, good warrant for the view recently expressed by Mr. Head²³ that "this beautiful coin belongs to the earlier Achaean Federation, of which the famous Achaean League, formed in 280 B.C., was a revival."

The place of mintage was doubtless the city of Aegium. This place, after the decay of the older cities of Achaia and the destruction (in B.C. 373) of Helike, the old religious meeting-place, became the political centre of Achaia, and its sanctuaries of Zeus Ἀμάριος and Demeter Panachaia the religious centres of the Achaean League. Whether the coins were issued soon after 373, when Aegium began to hold the leading position in the κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαίων, or at a rather later date, I will not now attempt to decide. In B.C. 366 the Achaeans became for a brief space the allies of Thebes, but in 362 we find them opposed to the pretensions of the Boeotian city and forming part of a combination consisting of Athens, Mantinea, Elis and Phlius.

The Zeus on the reverse of the didrachm is probably the Zeus Amarios.²⁴ The Athena on the smaller coins may be

²² B. M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, pl. xxxvii. 4; xxii. 1; xxxvi. 7.

²³ Brit. Mus. Parliamentary Return, 1902.

²⁴ There was also a Zeus Homagyrus at Aegium. See Pauly-Wissowa, under "Aigion" and "Amarios."

Athena 'Aupia, who is known to have been a protectress of the later Achaean League.²² The head on the didrachm may possibly be intended for Demeter Panachaia, or it may be one of the other goddesses of Aegium, such as Artemis or Eileithnia.²³

The identification of this splendid head is, indeed, rendered difficult by the absence of attributes; yet its artistic effectiveness is largely due, I think, to the sparing use of accessories, and especially to the unconventional treatment of the hair. Usually, when a Greek coin-artist aims at the portrayal of rich and stately female beauty he adorns the head with an ornamented stephanos (as in the case of Hera), or (as at Syracuse) confines the hair in a jewelled net or in a sakko^s embroidered with star or meander. Here, the engraver has employed no such artifice and has produced his effect simply by a skilful manipulation of the hair itself. The effect would be still more remarkable were our didrachm *fleur de coin*, but though it is in excellent condition, some details in high relief have suffered partial effacement, especially some of the fine lines by which the hair was rendered.

ELIS.

15. *Obl.*—Female head r. (Olympia ?), hair rolled and falling behind.

²² Or possibly the Athena Panachaia who had a temple at Patrae: Paus. vii., 20, 2; Imhoof and Gardner, *Comm. on Paus.*, p. 78, pl. Q, xiv. The helmet found as a symbol on the reverse of the didrachm appears also as a symbol on the drachm and on one of the specimens of the hemi-drachm (Imhoof, *loc. cit.*). Whether it refers to Athena or is a magistrate's signet can hardly be determined till more coins have come to light.

²³ On these goddesses at Aeginin, Imhoof and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 87, pl. R, xxi., xxii.; p. 89, pl. R, vi., &c.

Rev.—**FA** Eagle standing r., wings closed; circular incuse.

R. Size '45. Wt. 11·8. [Pl. XV. 11.]

(A variety of *B. M. Cat. Peloponnesus*, "Elis," No. 108²).

Andros.

16. *Obv.*—Head of young Dionysos r., wreathed with ivy, hair flowing; behind, Φ : border of dots.

Rev.—**ANΔ P** Panther advancing r.: traces of circular incuse.

R. Size '65. Wt. 50·2 grs. [Pl. XV. 16.]

This specimen is more complete than the one published in *Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete, &c.*, "Andros," No. 1. M. Paschalais, in his elaborate monograph on the numismatics of Andros (*Journ. Int.*, i. p. 348, pl. xiv. 3-5), assigns the coins of this type to the beginning of the fourth century n.c., and treats the letter Φ as the signature of an engraver whom he would identify with the artist Φ of Thurium, Terina, &c. (cp. *ib.* pl. xvii.).

The resemblance in style between this coin and the coins of Magna Graecia is, to me at least, not obvious. Compared with the Nike-head at Terina and the Athena at Thurium, this Dionysos seems comparatively commonplace both in conception and treatment. In the British Museum Catalogue I assigned the coin to the third century n.c., and I am not convinced by the arguments of M. Paschalais that it is earlier than *circ. b.c. 300*.

AROLLOXIA AD REYNDAEUM (Mytilae).

17. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laur.

² Where for similar *reut* Female head r.

Rev.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΝΙΑΤΩΝ ΡΥΝ Lyre: whole within laurel-wreath.

Æ. Size .95. Thick fabric with bevelled edges: dark green patina. [Pl. XV. 16.]

(First century n.c. Cp. Babelon, *Invent.* Waddington, No. 648).¹¹

Cyzicus (MYSIA).

18. *Obv.*—Head of Kore Soteira r., wreathed with corn.

Rev.—ΚΥ Tunny l.: whole in oak-wreath.
ΣΙ

Æ. Size .55. Wt. 23·5 grs. [Pl. XVI. 1.]

This accompanies the bronze coins of the period n.c. 200-100 described in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, p. 38.

HADRIANEIA (MYSIA).

19. *Obv.*—Bust of Demeter r., veiled; in front, two ears of corn: border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΔΡΙΑ ΝΕΩΝ Telesphorus standing facing: border of dots.

Æ. Size .65.

This is an addition to Mr. Hill's very useful lists of the two Mysian towns Hadrianeia and Hadrianoi (*Journ. Internat.*, 1898, p. 241 f.). It is of thin, flat fabric, and undoubtedly of imperial times; perhaps of the reign of Antoninus Pius, during which Telesphorus occurs as a reverse type at Hadrianeia.¹²

¹¹ For other autonomous coins of Apollonia, see Svoronos in *Rev. Num.* 1889, p. 177; Imhoof, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, 1901, p. 13 f.

¹² Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 20, No. 2; and references there to Ramsay and Muir.

CISTOPHORI.

The following are additions to the Brit. Mus. Catalogues :—

PERGAMUM (B.C. 200—133).

20. (Cp. *Mysia*, p. 123, No. 86 f.) *Rev.*—In field l. **FE**; between bow-case and left serpent, a prow, r.; in field r. dolphin swimming l.

R. Size 1·1. Wt. 190·5 grs.

PERGAMUM (B.C. 133—67).

21. (Cp. *Mysia*, p. 123, No. 94 f.) *Rev.*—In field l. **FE**; in field r., thyrsos entwined by serpent; above bow-case, **KP**
III

R. Size 1·1. Wt. 190·7 grs.

EPHESUS.

22. *Rev.*—In field l. **MC** (= year 46 = b.c. 88) and **EΦE**; in field r. long torch; above bow-case, head-dress of Isis (Cp. Head's *Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 66).

R. Size 1·1. Wt. 192·4 grs.

ARYAND (TROAS).

23. *Obr.*—Bust of Artemis r., draped, wearing stephanos [and necklace]; hair tied in bunch behind; bow and quiver at shoulder; border of dots.

ΔΗ

- Rev.*—**ABY** **NΩN** Eagle r.; wings open; in front, rose; in front of head, star; in ex., **ΔHMHTPI**: whole in laurel-wreath.

R. Size 1·2. Wt. 259·8 grs. [PL. XVI. 3.]

Struck after b.c. 196; of the same class as *Brit. Mus. Cat. Troas*, "Abydus," Nos. 49—57).

NEANDRIA (TROAS).

24. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair short.

Rev.—**A N** Altar with ornamental necking and horns.

N E It is raised on steps and behind it is a laurel-tree.

H. Size .45. Wt. 28·9 grs. [PL XVI. 2.]

An unpublished coin belonging to about the same period (*circ. B.C. 430-400*) as the silver coin of Neandria presented to the British Museum by Sir Hermann Weber, and described by me in *Num. Chron.* 1896, p. 93, No. 11; Pl. VII. 8. The head of Apollo is almost identical on the two coins.

An altar is a rare type on autonomous money.²² Probably a sacrificial altar of considerable size is here intended, such as would be placed before a temple or in a sacred grove.²³ The tree behind it seems to be of laurel, and may indicate that the altar is dedicated to Apollo. Thus, on vases we find an altar of Apollo, identified by the palm-tree-and tripod placed beside it.²⁴

The reverse type of the Neandrian coin above cited consists of a ram biting the leaves of a branch. I have already (*Num. Chron.*, *loc. cit.*) suggested that this animal

²² An altar occurs as type on a fourth century drachm of Western Sicily: A. J. Evans, in *Num. Chron.*, 1896, p. 140; Pl. IX. 18.

²³ Cp. the representation on coins of the Great Altar of Parium, described by Strabo. Wroth, *Cat. Mysia*, p. 97, note; Pl. XXL 10—12.

²⁴ Stangel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, ed. 2, Pl. I, Fig. 6 b; cp. Fig. 3. Instances of trees represented near altars: Coins of Amasia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Pontus*, Pl. II, 2—6); relief in Daremburg and Saglio, I, p. 350, Fig. 418; *Num. Chron.* 1896, Pl. IX. 18 (laurel sprays); *Decennial Publications*, Univ. Chicago, vi. 1902; Pl. II.; p. 8 (F. Turbell).

may be regarded as sacred to the pastoral Apollo—*Korneios*, *Nomios*, &c., and that the branch may be intended for the laurel-branch of Apollo which was credited with medicinal and purificatory virtues. It is certain from the obverses of the coins that Apollo was an important divinity at Neandria.

CYME (AEOLIS).

25. *Obr.*—Head of horse r., with Κ Υ inscribed on neck.

Rew.—Rosette of eight leaves : circular incuse.

AR covered with brownish gray patina.
Size .35. Wt. 14 grs. [PL. XVI. 5.]

Fourth century B.C.; cp. Imhoof, *Griech. Münzen*, p. 631 f., Nos. 243—245; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Troas*, etc., p. 106, No. 16; cp. also Imhoof in *Z. f. N.* xx. p. 277, No. 1.

LARISSA PRÆCORNIS (AEOLIS).

26. *Obr.*—Female head r., wearing sphenones, earring, and necklace.

Rew.—ΑΑΡ ΙΣ ΑΙ Amphora : circular incuse.

AR. Size .4. Wt. 17.2 grs. [PL. XVI. 6.]

(Acquired from a resident at Smyrna.)

An unpublished piece and the only known silver coin of this place. It has the usual reverse type of Larissa, viz., an amphora, and the obverse head is the same as on one of the bronze coins of the fourth century B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Troas*, &c., p. 134, No. 2.)²⁰

²⁰ Cp. "Introduction," p. ix.; Imhoof in *Z. f. N.*, xx. p. 281.

MYTILENE (LESBOS).

27. *Obr.*—Head of Apollo r., laur., hair falls behind in straggling locks.²⁸

Rev.—**M V T I A H N A O N** Female head l., wearing sphendone fastened by two crossing bands; whole in incuse square.

R. Size .6. Wt. 60·8 grs. [Pl. XVI. 7.]

Another specimen of this interesting coin is in the Waddington collection (Babelon, *Invent.*, No. 1386; Pl. III. 7). It clearly belongs to the latter part of the fifth century, *circa* n.c. 440-400, and the head of Apollo, especially in the treatment of the hair, resembles the head on the unique electrum stater of Mytilene in the British Museum (*Cat. Troas*, Pl. XXXII. 1).²⁹

The reverse head is of fine, somewhat severe style, and may be compared with heads on hectae of Phocaea³⁰ and Lesbos.³¹

The legend on the autonomous coins of Mytilene is almost always abbreviated (as **MYTI**). On the Imperial coins it is **MYTIΛHNAIΩN**. Here it is **MVTIΛHN-NAON**. In lapidary inscriptions of Lesbos of the fourth century n.c. we find Μυτιληναῖοι, but Μυτιλεῖνοι also occurs, e.g., in the well-known monetary convention between Phocaea and Mytilene, apparently *circa* n.c. 400.³²

²⁸ The hair is not so long and flowing as it is on the Apollo heads of a later period, e.g., *B. M. Cat. Troas*, &c., "Mytilene," No. 8.

²⁹ Cp. also the heads of Apollo on the Lesbian hectae, *Cat. Troas*, Pl. XXXII. 13-16, and on the small R. of Mytilene, *ib.* p. xxvii., 10, 11.

³⁰ *B. M. Cat. Ionia*, "Phocaea," No. 66, Pl. V., 16.

³¹ *B. M. Cat. Troas*, Pl. XXXIII. 1.

³² Hicks and Hill, *Greek Hist. Inscri.*, No. 94.

It may be doubted whether the inscription on our coin is in the genitive plural (*ον* for *ων*). Probably it is the neuter of the adjective, with *νόμισμα* (?) understood.⁴²

The inscriptions on the coins of Methymna are nearly parallel. On the autonomous money the inscription is usually abbreviated (as **ΜΑΘΥ**) ; on the Imperial, **ΜΗΘΥΜΝΑΙΩΝ** occurs. *Cir.* B.C. 420-400 we find (as on our coin) **ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΝ**. The earliest coins have a rather remarkable legend **ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΣ** written (in archaic letters) both on obverse and reverse. This must be the adjective with *στατήρ* (?) understood.

MYTILENE (Lesbos).

28. *Obe.*—**CEITOC NEOC MAKAP.** . . Head of Sextus r., bare, beardless : border of dots.

Rev.—**ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕ[ΔΑ] ΝΕΑ ΛΕC[BOC ?]** Bust of Andromeda r. ; hair tied behind : border of dots.

Æ. Size 8. [Pl. XVI. 8.]

Specimens of this coin, which forms an interesting addition to the series of Mytilenean coin portraits,⁴³ were published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in *Zeit. für Num.*, xx., p. 286, who read the last word of the obverse legend **MAP[KOY ?]** (i.e., "Sextus the Younger, son of Marcus"), and the last word of the reverse legend as **ΛΕCΒΩ** (*νάκτος ?*) (i.e., "Andromeda the Younger, daughter of Lesbonax").

Our coin reads on the obverse quite certainly **MAK-**

⁴² On the use of the adjective instead of the ethnic, see Hill, *Handbook of Greek Coins*, p. 160.

⁴³ Wroth in *Classical Review*, May, 1894, pp. 226, 227 ("Portraits of famous citizens of Mytilene"), and *Cat. Traas.*, pp. lxx.-lxxv.; Imhoof, *Z. f. N.* xx., p. 286 f.; ep. *Kt. M.* ii., p. 511.

AP . . . , and we must therefore, as Mr. Head has already pointed out,⁴⁴ render these inscriptions as "Sextus the new Makar (or Makareus)," and "Andromeda the new Lesbos."⁴⁵ Makar, or Makareus, was a colonist and ruler of Lesbos, which he called after himself Makaria, while Lesbos (according to Schol., *It.*, xxiv. 544) was his wife.⁴⁶

Sextus and Andromeda are not historically known. A Sextus *īp̄os* figures on the Mytilenean coins, but being bearded is probably distinct from this Sextus, though perhaps related to him. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the portrait of Andromeda-Lesbos is almost identical with the portrait of Flavia Nicomachis, who appears on the reverse of the coin of Sextus *īpmv*.⁴⁷ Imhoof would attribute the "Sextus and Andromeda" coins to the time of Titus or Domitian, chiefly on account of the style of the *coiffure* on the reverse.

APOLLONOS-HIERON (LYDIA).

29. *Obr.*—Youthful head r., wreathed with ivy (Dionysos): border of dots.

⁴⁴ British Museum Parliamentary *Return*, 1902.

⁴⁵ Cp. ΛΕΣΒΩΝΑΞ ΗΡΩC ΝΕΟC, Lesbonax in the character of Dionysos, in *B. M. Cat. Troas, &c.*, "Mytilene," No. 164; ΝΕΩ ΙΑΚΧΩ and ΝΕΩ ΠΥΘΙΩ of Antinous on coins of Tarsus (Hill, *B. M. Cat. Lycania*, p. lxxxix); ΝΕΑ ΘΕΑ ΗΡΑ ΠΛΑΝΤΙΔΔΑ on coins of Alabunda (Head, *B. M. Cat. Caria*, p. 12, No. 19).

⁴⁶ See Schirmer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. "Makar," "Makareus"; art. "Lesbos," *ib.*; and further in Plehn's *Lesbiacorum liber*, p. 24 f. The appearance of the name of Makareus on this set of coins rather supports my conjecture (*Cat. Troas, &c.*, p. lxxv.), that the Leukippus who appears on a coin of Mytilene (*ib.* p. lxxv.) may be the Lenkippos, son of Makareus, who was the leader of a colony which his father despatched from Lesbos to Rhodes.

⁴⁷ *Cat. Troas*, p. lxxiii, lxxiv.

Rev.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΡΙΤΩΝ Bunch of grapes :
border of dots.

Æ. Size 1·65. [Pl. XVI. 9.]

(Imperial times, Tiberius—Caracalla.)

30. *Obv.—ΑΥ·Κ·Μ·ΑΥΡΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ* Head of Caracalla r., with slight beard; laur.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΝΟΙΕΡΙΤ Athens, wearing helmet and chiton, standing to front, looking r.; right hand supports spear; left hand, shield; border of dots.

Æ. Size 1·9. [Pl. XVI. 10.]

CILBIANI NICAEI (LYDIA).

31. *Obv.—* Within wreath (of olive ?) bull's head facing; fillets attached to horns; on l., ΤΔ; on r., ΨΗΛ

Rev.— Within wreath (of olive ?), ΚΙΑΒΙ ΑΝΩΝ : border of dots.

Æ. Size 1·8. [Pl. XVI. 11.]

This curious coin is of flat fabric and probably of Imperial times (second or early third century A.D.). It may be doubted whether it should be assigned to the Cilbiani Superiores or the Cilbiani Nicaei, as the distinctive legends ΤΩΝ ΑΝΩ or ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΝΕΙΚΑΙΑΝ, &c., are wanting. It is probably best assigned to the Cilbiani Nicaei, who issued coins of large module in the second and third centuries, and on whose coins (though indeed very rarely) the inscription ΚΙΑΒΙΑΝΩΝ is found without mention of Nicaea.⁴⁶ I am unable to explain the letters on the obverse.

The bull's head is not known to be a badge of the

* *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lydia*, p. 64, No. 2.

Cilibiani, nor is it found on their coins. I am inclined to suppose that it has here some special significance, and that the coin was issued on the occasion of some notable festival of which the sacrifice of a bull formed a prominent feature.¹⁰ The bull's head, it will be noticed, is adorned with sacrificial fillets and encircled by a wreath.

CHILBIANI NICARI (LYDIA).

32. *Obe.*—ΠΟΠΣΕ Π· ΓΕΤΑΣ· ΚΑ· Bust of Geta r., with whisker, head bare; wears paludamentum and cuirass: countermark, Asklepios standing, holding serpent-staff.

Rev.—ΕΠΙC · ΚΑΠΠΑΛΑ B · ΤΟV · IOVAA ·
ΑΡΧΟ· Asklepios holding serpent-staff standing towards r., looking l. in the direction of Hygieia who stands r., wearing chiton and peplos and feeding serpent from patern. In ex.,
ΝΕΙΚΑΕΩΝ ΚΙΛ ΒΙΑΝΩΝ

A. Size 1·25. [PL. XVI. 12.]

This specimen was briefly referred to by Head in the introduction to his Catalogue, *Lydia* (p. xlvi.), where he reads ἐπὶ Σκάπλα β' τοῦ Ἰονλ. α' ἄρχο. Imhoof had read the name as "Απλαζτον, but it appears that he now agrees to Head's reading, and thinks that the coin in his *Kleinere Münzen* (p. 175, No. 5; cp. reff. there) should probably be read ΕΤΙΚΚΑΠΠΑ Β. IOV. &c. (*K. M.* ii., p. 521.)

GERME (LYDIA).

33. *Obe.*—ΑΥΤΟΚΛΑΥ ΚΟΜΟΔΟΞ Bust of Commodus r., with whisker; laureate; wears paludamentum and cuirass.

¹⁰ Cp. the ceremonies connected with the sacrifice of a bull brought together by H. Von Fritze, *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 514—516:—ιπο[ιη]υρων ἐε και τὰς ἀργεις τῶν βοῶν ιπάρχων ὅτε 'Ελευσίνη τὴ διατίκη και τοῖς πρ[οποιεῖσθαι]; ἡ βοῦς in the inscriptions of Ilion, &c.

Rev.—ΕΤΤΙ ΕΡΜΟΛΑ· Τ· ΓΕΡΜΗ Apollo naked standing, with legs crossed, towards r., resting right hand on head and with left supporting lyre on a column which is entwined by a fillet (or a garland); behind, tree round which a serpent is coiled.

A. Size 1·1. [Pl. XVII. 1.]

(Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lydia*, p. lvi; p. 85, No. 27).

SIDE (PAMPHYLIA).

84. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ· ΚΑΙ· ΠΟ· ΑΙ· ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟΣ· ΣΕ· Bust of Gallienus r. laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; in front, Ε.

Rev.—ΣΙΔΗ ΤΩΝ Asklepios wearing himation, standing facing; right hand holds staff entwined by serpent with human head.

A. Size 1·2. [Pl. XVII. 3.]

The figure resembles the Asklepios familiar on coins, except that it stands more full to the front than usual. The staff with the human-headed serpent is quite exceptional. Were the coin of the period of the Antonines and of the north of Asia Minor there would be little difficulty in identifying the serpent with Glycon, the serpent exploited by Alexander, the famous impostor of Abonitichus, but it seems doubtful whether Glycon would occur at a Pamphylian town in the third century.²⁰ Probably this unusual representation is due to some Egyptian or Gnostic influence²¹ prevalent in ΣΙΔΗ ΜΥCTIC.²²

²⁰ Lucian, *Alez.* The influence of Alexander still, however, prevailed at Abonitichus itself in the third century; F. Cumont, *Alexandre d'Abonitichos*, p. 41 f.; Babelon, *Rev. Num.* 1900, p. 1 f. ("Le faux prophète Alexandre").

²¹ Babelon, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—30.

²² Inscription on a coin of Salomina, Babelon, *Invent. Wad-dington*, No. 3501; sp. No. 9497.

Judging from the coins and inscriptions, Asklepios was a very much less important god at Side than Athena and Apollo.

CERAITAE (PISIDIA).

35. *Obr.*—Female head r. (Artemis or Tyche of city?), hair tied in bunch behind; wears tall head-dress, apparently turreted.

Rev.—**KΕΡΑΕΙΤΩ (Ν?)** Boar advancing r.: slight eironiat incuse.

A.E. Size .75.² [PL. XVII. 2.]

(First century B.C.?)

The exact provenance of this coin is unknown, but it was acquired (like No. 36 *infra*) from a resident in Smyrna, through whose hands a large number of Asiatic coins are frequently passing. There is thus some probability that it was found in Asia Minor. It is unpublished, but in both its types resembles the bronze coin inscribed **KΕΡΑΕΙΤΑ (Ν?)**, and described by Svoronos in his *Crète* (p. 46, No. 6) under "Cernia," though with hesitation, as he suggests as an alternative that it may belong to a town of Pisidia. The reverse of Svoronos's coin, described as an owl, is a boar.

To the Cernitae, Imhoof has already attributed bronze coins with the head of Artemis, *reverse* club, and also some with *reverse* bow and arrow. These are inscribed **KΕ.²³**

CERENXA AND CERAITAE (PISIDIA).

36. *Obr.*—Female bust r. (Artemis or Tyche?), hair in two formal curls; wears turreted head-dress: border of dots.

²² Since this was in type, Imhoof has discussed two similar coins: *KI.* M. ii., p. 375.

²³ Hill, *Lydia*, p. 210; p. xcix.; cxx.; *Invent. Wadd.*, 9658 f.

Rev.—**KΡΗΜΝΕΩΝ** Double cornucopiae,
KAI
ΚΕΡΑΕΙΤΩΝ

A.E. Size 1·5. Wt. 50·7 grs. [PL XVII. 4.]
(Second century B.C. ?)

Specimens of this rare drachm (Hague and Waddington Collection²²) were first published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Monn. gr.*, p. 336; cp. *Griech. M.*, p. 693). Of the Ceraitae nothing is known, but the evidence of the coins suggests that they lived in the neighbourhood of Cremona. (Cp. Imhoof, *Kl. M.* ii., p. 376.)

CREMNA (PISTIA).

87. *Obv.*—**IMP · C · S · L · DOM AVRELIANO** Bust of Aurelian r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—**DONATIOC OLCREMN** Female figure (Ammona?) in long drapery, standing to front, looking l.; each hand rests upon a modius, in which are ears of corn?

A.E. Size 1·8. [PL XVII. 5.]

A similar specimen in the French collection is briefly referred to in Mr. Hill's *Catal. Lycia*, &c., p. ciii. Imhoof (*Monn. gr.*, p. 337, No. 78a) has published another coin of Cremona of Aurelian with reverse **DONATIO COL · CRE** "Urne de jeux, avec deux palmes, posée sur une table."²³

The word *donatio*, the common legal term for a gift (e.g., *Inst.*, bk. ii., tit. 7, "De *Donationibus*"), seems to

²² Babelon, *Invent. Waddington*, No. 8691.

²³ See also the description in Imhoof-Blumer's *Kleinasiatischen Münzen*, Wien, 1902, vol. iii., p. 884, No. 15; pl. xiii. 28, published since this article was in type.

have here nearly the meaning of *largitio* (cp. *donativum*, the imperial largess to the soldiery, *congiarium*, the largess to the popalae). I am not aware that it is found on other coins. The inscription apparently here records a gift of the Emperor Aurelian to *Colonia Cremona*. The coin published by Imhoof may be illustrated by the coin of Side with the word **ΔΩΡΕΑ** inscribed near a table which supports two purses and a prize-urn with palm-branches. Our coin (No. 37) seems to record a largess of corn, or, at any rate, a money gift which had been placed at the disposal of the magistrates (*αποθέματα* or *ἀγοραρόματα*) charged with the provisioning of the town. Good parallels are furnished by inscriptions on coins of Tarsus:—**ΔΩΡΕΑ ΚΙΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΕΓΥ ΤΑΡΣΩ** (Egyptian corn presented to Tarsus by the Emperor Caracalla); **ΔΩΡΕΑ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ** (i.e., Severus Alexander).³⁷ Compare also **AETERNUM BENEFICIVM** accompanying a modius with corn on imperial coins of Sidon and Laodicea in Syria.

LYSINIA (PISIDIA).

38. *Obr.*—Π· **CEΠ· ΓΕΤΑC· K** Bust of Geia r., beardless; wearing paludamentum and cuirass; head bare; border of dots.

Rev.—**AVCIN I ΕΩΝ** The god Mén standing to front, looking r., left foot resting on bucranium; he wears Phrygian cap, chiton and himation; crescent at shoulders. In left hand he holds Nike carrying trophy; right hand rests on long sceptre; border of dots.

H. Size 8. [Pl. XVII. 6.]

Cp. specimen in the French collection published by Babelon, *Ree. Num.*, 1893, p. 340, No. 87; Roseber's *Larikon*, "Mén," p. 2724, Fig. 8.

³⁷ Wroth, *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 291; Rosiowzew in *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 96 f., on largesses of corn.

Coinsof Lysinia are scarce and are known only of Caracalla and of Geta.²⁸ The representation of Mēn is one often found on the coins of the Pisidian Antioch, which was an important seat of his cultus.²⁹

Icosium (Lycaonia).

39. *Obr.*—Bust of Perseus, looking r.; he wears winged helmet, with vulture as crest: border of dots.

Rev.—**ΕΙΚΟΝΙΕΩΝ** Zeus seated l.; in right hand, thunderbolt; left hand on long sceptre: border of dots: slight circular incuse.

Æ. Size .85. [Pl. XVII. 7.]

(Op. Waddington, *Rev. Num.*, 1883, p. 46, Nos. 3, 4; Babelon, *Invent.* Waddington, No. 4760; Hill, *Cat. Lycaonia*, p. xxiii.)

Parlaïs (Lycaonia).

40. *Obr.*—Head of Artemis r.; quiver at shoulder.

Rev.—**ΠΑΡΛΑΑ...ΩΝ** Ship l., with rowers; beneath, **ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ**: slight circular incuse.

Æ. Size .55. [Pl. XVII. 8.]

M. Dieudonné has lately published (*Rev. Num.* 1902, p. 88 f.) some interesting coins of Parlaïs which apparently belong to the first century a.c. Previously, the only known coins were colonial (M. Aurelius to Sept. Severus) with Latin inscriptions.³⁰ Our coin is a variety of Dieudonné's No. 79. The magistrate Διομήδης is found on

²⁸ See Hill, *Cat. Lycia, &c.*, p. xcv.; p. 228; Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1893, pp. 349, 341; on site, &c., Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 326, &c.

²⁹ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 177, No. 5; Pl. XXXI., 6, 8, 17. On the Pisidian cultus of Mēn, see Drexler, "Mēn," in Roscher's *Lexikon*, pp. 2720—2725.

³⁰ Hill, *Cat. Lycaonia, &c.*, p. xxvi.

other coins (type, panther). (The latest publication of coins of Parthia is in the recently issued second volume of Imhoof-Blumer's valuable *Kleinasiatische Münzen*.)

STEIRIA (CILICIA).

41. *Obr.*—ΦΑΥCTINA CEBACTH Bust of Faustina the younger, r.; head bare.

Rev.—CYEΔ PE ΩN Demeter, wearing chiton, peplos, and veil, advancing r.; in each hand a long torch flaming.

Æ. Size 95. [Pl. XVII. 9.]

TARSUS (CILICIA).

42. *Obr.*—AVT KAIMAVPANTΩNEINOC Bust of Elagabalus r., beardless, laur.; wears paludamentum and cuirasse.

Rev.—ΤAPCOVTHCMHTROPΟΛΕ On left, altar, garlanded, and surmounted by plain crown of the ἡμιοερύδης; on right, crown of the ἀρχιερέως decorated with seven heads: on right and left of this crown, Γ Β: in ex., ΑΜΚ.

Æ. Size 1·1. [Pl. XVII. 11.]

(*Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Lycaonia*, "Tarsus," p. 201, No. 207; Imhoof in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1898, p. 180, No. 55; Pl. XIII. 22; *K. M. II.*, p. 494.)

The demiurgic and archieratic crowns have been discussed by Mr. Hill in *Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Arch. Inst.*, ii., p. 245 f., and in *Cat. Lycaonia*, &c., pp. xcvi, xcvi.ⁱⁱ

The three upper heads rather seem to be Sept. Severus (in centre) and his sons Caracalla and Geta, while the

ⁱⁱ For the office of ἡμιοερύδης in Asia Minor (especially Cilicia), in Imperial times, see the references in *Pauly-Wissowa*, art. "Demiurgoi," p. 2861. On the demicourgos at Tarsus, Le Bas-Waddington, *Inscr.* iii., Pt. I., No. 1480; p. 350; *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, vii., p. 286 (Waddington); p. 326 (Ramsay).

two heads below (on the left) appear to be female (J. Domna? and another princess of the Imperial family). The two heads below on the right side appear to be male.

On this coin Elagabalus wears the ordinary military dress of the Roman Emperor, but the coins of Anazarbus show him arrayed in the crown and garments of demourgos, and the crown of the demourgos appears as a reverse type (*Cat. Lycaonia*, p. 34, No. 20).

NAUKRATIS (EGYPT).

43. *Obv.*—Female head r.; (Aphrodite?), hair rolled, with four loose locks falling behind; wears wreath, earring, and necklace; beneath, ΝΑΥ.

Rev.—Female (?) head r., wreathed; beneath, ΑΛΕ.

A. Size .6. [Pl. XVII, 10.]

This coin was procured at Naukratis itself. It is from the same die on the obverse as the coin in the British Museum found (as well as another specimen) at Naukratis by Petrie, and published by Head in the *Num. Chron.* for 1886, p. 10; Pl. I. 9.

CYRENE.

44. *Obv.*—Silphium plant.

Rev.—ΚΒΔΙ. Beardless male head l. (Zeus Ammon), horned; hair curly; deep circular incuse.

A. Size .55. Wt. 50·2 grs. [Pl. XVII, 12.]

(Cp. Müller, *L'anc. Afrique*, i., p. 45).

WARWICK WROTH.







XX.

ON SOME RARE OR UNPUBLISHED ROMAN
COINS.

(See Plates XVIII. and XIX.)

ON two¹ former occasions I have had the honour of communicating to this Society papers under this title; in the former of these, however, limiting myself to gold. In both cases by far the greater number of the coins described were in my own cabinet, where also, with one exception, the twenty-three pieces to which I am about to call your attention repose.

The term "unpublished" must not, at all events in Roman numismatics, be regarded as in every instance strictly accurate. In general it is merely a formula implying that the coin to which it is applied varies from any described in Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, or is entirely unmentioned in that excellent and indispensable work. In the following pages a few coins have, as, for instance, those of Diadumenianus, been included on account of their rarity and their remarkably fine state of preservation.

¹ *Num. Chron.* N.S. viii. (1868), p. 223; 3rd S. vi. (1886), p. 265.

No. 1. STRUCK UNDER GALBA.

Obv.—HISPANIARVM ET GALLIARVM CONCORDIA. Draped bust of Spain, to right, with long hair gathered in a knot behind, facing that of Gaul, to left, with long hair hanging down; below Spain a cornucopiao, and below Gaul a Gallic shield; between the busts a small draped Victory facing and springing upwards from a globe; in her right hand a wreath, in her left a palm-branch; above her a narrow crescent enclosing a six-pointed star.

Rev.—VICTORIA P. R. Winged Victory in a biga to right, holding in her right hand a wreath with a fillet, and in her left the reins; the whole within a plain circle.

A. 49 grs.

[Pl. XVIII. 1.]

This remarkably elegant coin was found in 1898 at Braughing, Herts, a locality where numerous ancient British and Roman coins have been disinterred. It is in my own cabinet and, so far as I know, it is unpublished and unique.

Like the next coin to be mentioned, it belongs to the time of the Emperor Galba and to a series of *denarii* struck in Spain, on which the names of Gallia and Hispania frequently occur, in one instance (Cohen No. 73) conjointly. On that coin, however, the two countries are represented by full-length figures and not by busts.

The coins of Galba with the reverse legend VICTORIA P. R. have usually the type of Victory standing and not that of Victory in a biga. The name of Hispania generally occurs in the singular and not in the plural, and the same may be said with regard to Gallia. In the plural it refers to the Provinces Citerior and Ulterior or Cisalpina and Transalpina, or, in this instance, more probably to the TRES GALLIAE. Mr. Philip Smith in *Smith's Dictionary*

of *Geography*, s.v., says that the form Hispaniae is of very frequent occurrence, but I believe that the singular form Hispania is much more frequent. As is well known, it was at the instigation of Julius Vindex, the governor of Gaul, and with the approbation of the troops both in Spain and Gaul, that Galba undertook the perilous task of revolting against Nero. Though at first successful, his avarice alienated the army from him, and his reign lasted but seven months. During that period, however, such was the activity of his mints, that Cohen records nearly 450 varieties of his coins.

No. 2. GALBA.

Obe.—HISPANIA. Female laureate and draped bust to right, with long hair partly tied in a knot behind and partly running down her neck; behind, two lances with pennons; below, a round buckler; and in front, two ears of bearded corn.

Rev.—GALBA IMPER. The emperor on horseback galloping to left, raising his right hand; his mantle flying behind him. A beaded circle surrounds both obverse and reverse.

R. 53} grs.

[PL. XVIII. 2.]

This well-preserved coin is in my own collection and differs from Cohen No. 76 in reading IMPER, instead of TMP. It also shows the types more clearly than the coin described by Cohen. I have ventured to regard the face bearing the head of Spain as the obverse, thus consigning the Emperor to the reverse. The attributes of Hispania, partly military and partly agricultural, differ from those exhibited on the closely allied *denarius* last described. The execution of the coin is remarkably good, the characteristic features of Galba being faithfully reproduced on an

extremely minute scale in the head of the horseman on the reverse.

No. 3. DOMITIAN.

Obv.—IMP. CAES. DOMITIAN. AVG. GERM. COS.

XL Laureate head of the emperor to right; in front of the neck the aegis apparently suspended by a chain. The whole within a beaded circle.

Rev.—S. C. Peace standing draped to left, in her left hand a cornucopiae, and in her right a torch with which she is setting fire to a heap of arms consisting of a helmet, two long German bucklers, two long trumpets, and two lances. The whole upon an exergual line, and within a beaded circle.

A.E. 1.

[Pl. XVIII. 3.]

I purchased this *sestertius* in Rome in the year 1886, and, though not in Cohen, it can hardly be said to be unpublished. It dates from A.D. 85, and, like many others of the same period, seems to refer to the conclusion of the somewhat fabulous German war. A similar coin is described by Hobler in his *Records of Roman History*.² It is not, however, figured. Another or possibly the same coin is described by Admiral Smyth³ in the Addenda to his *Large Brass Medals*. “*Absque epigraphe. Peace burning a pile of arms.*”

Singularly enough, a figure of the reverse of this coin, very roughly executed, is given in Mr. Leopold Montague’s *Guide to Roman First Brass Coins*.⁴

Among the *sestertii* of Vespasian is one of much the same type as this, but with the legend PAX AVG. S. C.⁵

² Vol. I., p. 212, No. 424.

³ P. 310, No. 13.

⁴ Bury St. Edmunds, 1896, p. 29.

⁵ Cohen, No. 802, vol. i., p. 390. Smyth, p. 57, No. lxxv.

Peace standing to right holding a torch with which she is setting fire to a pile of arms before an altar; holding also an olive-branch; behind, a column surmounted by a statue, against which rest a spear and a buckler.

No. 4. ANTONINUS PIUS.

Obe.—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. TR. P. COS. IIII. Laureate head of the emperor to left.

Rev.—LIB. IIII. in exergue.—Antonine seated on a curule chair to left, on an estrade on which is Liberality standing to left holding a *tessera* and a cornucopiae; at foot, a male draped figure.

N. 110 grs.

[PL XVIII. 4.]

This beautiful coin, found near Minieh, Egypt, is in my own collection. It differs from Cohen No. 495 merely in the fact that the bust of Antonine is to the left instead of to the right, but on account of its condition I have thought it worth while to reproduce it in the Plate. It dates from A.D. 145.

No. 5. FAUSTINA THE ELDER.

Obe.—DIVA FAVSTINA. Draped bust of the empress to right.

Rev.—AVGVSTA. Fortune, draped and veiled, standing to left; in her extended right hand a patera; in her left a rudder resting on a globe. A beaded circle surrounds both obverse and reverse.

N. 112 grs.

[PL XVIII. 5.]

This coin also was found near Minieh, Egypt, about the year 1897, and is in my own cabinet. Gold pieces with the same legends are abundant, but this, instead of presenting, as usual, Ceres, Diana, Pietas or Vesta, gives

us Fortune, with some of her accustomed attributes. Its condition is such that it might have been just issued from the mint.

No. 6. MARCUS AURELIUS.

Obv.—AVRELIVS CAES. ANTON. AVG. PII F. Bare head of Aurelius to right.

Rev.—TR. POT. X COS. II. Minerva robed and helmeted to right, a buckler on her left arm, and in her right hand a spear.

N. 115½ grs.

[PL. XVIII. 6.]

This coin, now in my cabinet, was likewise found at Minich, Egypt, in 1897. It differs from Cohen No. 684, both in the obverse legend and in having the head to the right instead of to the left. No. 685, with the head in the same direction, differs in the legend. The type of the reverse requires no comment. The date of the coin is A.D. 156.

No. 7. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Obv.—SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Laureate bust of Severus to left.

Rev.—LIBERALITAS AVG. VI. Liberality draped standing to left; in her right hand a *tessera*, in her left a cornucopiae.

N. 113½ grains.

[PL. XVIII. 7.]

I obtained this coin at Cairo in 1899, and though it differs from Cohen No. 297 in the direction of the head of the emperor only, I have, on account of its beauty and condition, thought it worthy of a place in the Plate. The date of the sixth Liberalitas of Severus is A.D. 208.

No. 8.—JULIA DOMNA AND CARACALLA.

Obv.—IVLIA AVGVSTA. Draped bust of Julia to right.

Rev.—ANTONINVS AVGV. PONT. TR. P. IIII. Laureate and draped bust of young Caracalla to right.

N. 114½ grs.

[Pl. XVIII. 8.]

Cohen does not describe any gold coins of Julia and Caracalla, and those which he mentions in silver have legends round the head of Caracalla different from that on this gold coin, though his No. 1 is of the same year, A.D. 201. The coin here figured is another of those found near Minieh, Egypt, and is in my own collection. It is in the finest possible condition.

No. 9. CARACALLA.

Obv.—ANTONINVS PIUS AVGV. GERM. Laureate bust of Caracalla in cuirass to left.

Rev.—P.M. TR. P. XVIII COS. IIII P.P. The Sun partially draped, standing facing but looking to left, his right hand lifted up, and in his left a globe.

N. 100½ grs.

[Pl. XVIII. 9.]

This coin, in my own collection, was found in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. Several gold coins of the same date are described by Cohen, but in all cases with the bust of the emperor to the right and with different types on the reverse. A silver coin, however, No. 358, presents the Sun with similar attributes.

No. 10.—MACKINVS.

Obv.—IMP. C. M. OPEL. SEV. MACKINVS. AVGV. Laureate and draped bust of Macrinus to right.

Rev.—PONTIF. MAX. TR.P. COS. P.P. Jupiter facing but looking to left, mantle over his shoulder, holding in his right hand a thunderbolt, and in his left a sceptre.

N. 110 grs.

[Pl. XVIII. 10.]

This coin, in my own collection, formed part of the great hoard recently found near Karnak, in Egypt. It dates from the year A.D. 217, and though of fine work is not in such high relief as some of the gold coins of the same emperor, struck in the second year of his tribunitian power. His reign only lasted fourteen months, but the activity of his mints was great. Cohen describes silver and brass coins of the same type,² but was not acquainted with it in gold.

Nos. 11 and 12. DIADUMENIANUS.

Obe.—M. OPEL. ANT. DIADVMENIAN. CAES. Draped bust of the youthful Diadumenian to right.

Rev.—SPES PVBLICA. Spes standing to left, in her right hand a bud, with her left holding up her robe.

N. 111½ grs.

[Pl. XIX. 1.]

Obe.—As last. Draped bust of Diadumenian to right.

Rev.—PRINC. IVVENTVTIS. Diadumenian in military costume to left, but looking to right; in his right hand a military standard, in his left a wand; behind him two standards.

N. 108 grs.

[Pl. XIX. 2.]

Both these coins are described by Cohen (Nos. 22 and 2), the former from Mionnet, but on account of their

* Nos. 53 to 55.

wonderful state of preservation and of their rarity, I have thought it well to include them in the Plate, bringing them together for facility of comparison.

Both came to me from the great hoard of Roman gold coins found near Karnak, Egypt, in 1901, in which I believe that nearly twenty coins of this Caesar were present. Though their rarity is thus diminished, they still command extremely high prices. Both the types are figured in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique* for 1902.⁷

Of the two, No. 11 is the rarer, and in all probability the older. Macrinus, on his accession to the purple in A.D. 217, nominated his son Diadumenian, then of the age of nine years, as Caesar. He appears to have been a youth of great promise, so that the legend SPES PVB-LICA on his first coins would be singularly appropriate. The title of PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS was probably conferred upon him soon after his nomination as Caesar, and by far the larger number of his coins bear this title on the reverse. He perished with his father in battle after a short reign of fourteen months.

A remarkable point in connection with these two coins is that No. 11 presents a distinctly younger portrait than that on No. 12, in which the features, and especially the nose, have become more pronounced and developed. How the engravers of the dies were able to keep pace with the changes in the appearance of a growing boy is a mystery that has yet to be solved.

No. 13. ELAGABALUS.

Ode.—IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINV. P.F.
AVG. Laureate and cuirassed bust of Elaga-

⁷ PL VIII., Nos. 12, 13.

balus to left ; over the shoulders an embroidered consular scarf or *terum*.

Rev.—SANCT. DEO SOLI ; in exergue ELAGABAL. Chariot with four horses marching to right ; in it the sacred stone with an eagle upon it in relief ; around it four small parasols.

N. 106} grs.

[Pl. XVIII. II.]

This interesting coin is in my own collection, and varies from Cohen No. 265, especially on the obverse, which presents the head of Elagabalus to the left instead of to the right, and gives the legend in a rather more extended form.

The type seems to represent the bringing of the sacred black stone, the Elagabal or Syrian sun-god, to Rome. I have elsewhere⁴ spoken of the probability of Elagabalus having combined the worship of the sacred stone, the sun, and of Mithra. The original home of the worship of Elagabal, "the god of the mountainous part of Syria" (?) was at Emisa,⁵ many of the coins of which city, from the time of Antoninus Pius downwards, have the reverse type of the sacred stone, on which a large eagle is seated. Whether this was the Roman eagle, or that which would be appropriate on an "image that fell down from Jupiter," is uncertain. On this coin, however, the placing of the figure of the eagle upon the sacred stone may be intended to show that this foreign divinity took an especial interest in Rome, of which the king of birds was the recognised ensign or symbol.

There has existed some doubt as to the signification of the four stemmed objects placed in the chariot around

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, xviii. (1898), p. 181.

⁵ *B. M. Cat. Galatia, &c.* 1899, p. 237.

the stone. Eckhel¹⁰ regarded them as poles, on each of which was placed a smaller sacred stone. The poles, however, in such a case, would hardly be able to support the weight of such heavy bodies. Judging merely from the coin under consideration, one might be tempted to regard the objects on the top of the four poles as hats or *pilei*, such as the Pontifices and Flamines wore on solemn occasions. They would thus typify the attendance of the priests.

Cohen describes them as parasols or umbrellas, emblems of dignity in the East, such as that on the well-known copper coins of Herod Agrippa I of Judaea. In this view he is supported by the fact that on several coins of Emesa,¹¹ on which the conical stone is represented within a temple, it is accompanied on either side by an object of this kind, which far more nearly resembles a ceremonial parasol. I have therefore retained Cohen's description.

For further details with regard to Elagabalus and the sacred stone I would refer to Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v.

No. 14. BALBINUS.

Obv.—IMP. C. D. CAEL. BALBINVS AVG. Laureato and draped bust of the Emperor to right.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVGG. Winged Victory, standing left, holding a wreath in her extended right hand, and a palm-branch in her left, which is depressed.

N. 81 grs.

[Pl. XIX. 3.]

¹⁰ *Doct. Num.*, vii., p. 251.

¹¹ *B. M. Cat.*, Pl. XXVII. 12, 13, 14.

This coin was found, together with a large number of gold coins mostly of Maximianus Herculeus, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, Egypt, in the spring of 1902. I acquired it in Cairo shortly after its discovery.

Both Cohen and Francesco Gnechi state that coins in gold of Balbinus are unknown. Several of the earlier writers on Roman numismatics, however, mention gold coins of this Emperor. In Mezzabarba's edition of *Occo* (1730) no less than five varieties of his gold coins are described with the reverses *FIDES MVTVA AVG*., *PROVIDENTIA DEORVM*, and *VICTORIA AVG*. Vaillant (1743) gives one only with *VOTIS DECENTNALIBVS*, and Eckhel (1828?) cites the coin described by Beger in his *Thesaurus Brandenburgensis*,¹² with the reverse *AMOR MVTVVS AVG*., as of doubtful authenticity.

It seems strange that none of these coins should have stood the test of time, but critical knowledge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems to have been at a low ebb among collectors, and the anxiety to fill a gap in a series tended to remove the safeguards against the forger's art.

The coin now under consideration is fortunately above all suspicion, and its reverse corresponds with that of the gold coin of Pupienus, cited by Cohen (No. 37), from Caylus, so that the only two types in gold extant of the two colleagues Balbinus and Pupienus are, in fact, identical.

Their joint reign in A.D. 238 lasted but three months only. The name of the Emperor in full was Decimus Caelius Balbinus. He was already an old man when he and Pupienus were elected joint-emperors by the Senate.

¹² Vol. ii., p. 723.

Something is known of his previous history. He is reported to have been of noble birth, as he was descended from Cornelius Balbus of Cadiz, the friend of Pompey, Cicero and Caesar. He was rich and had been twice Consul. He had governed in succession the most important of the peaceful provinces of the Empire, such as Asia, Africa, Bithynia, Galatia, etc. Moreover, he was celebrated as one of the best orators and poets of the age, who had gained the esteem and love of all ranks. He was to remain at Rome to direct the civil administration, while Pupienus proceeded with the army to encounter Maximinus.¹² After his death at Aquileia, by the hands of his own soldiers, the garrison at Rome, which had never been favourable to the two Emperors, violently took their lives, and Gordian III, who had been appointed Caesar, succeeded them as Emperor.

No. 15. GALLIENUS.

Obv.—IMP. GALLIENVS AVG. Laureate bust of Gallienus to left.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory to right, holding palm-branch and wreath, standing on a globe between two captives seated back to back.

N. 50½ grs.

[Pl. XIX. 4.]

I acquired this coin at a sale in Paris in 1896. It probably came from Egypt. A billon coin with a similar reverse is described by Cohen, No. 1108, but this in gold appears to be unpublished. The adaptation of two conventional bearded captives as supporters to a globe on

¹² Julii Capitolini, *Maximus et Balbinus*; Herodian, *Hist.* vii., 10; Eckhel, *Doct. Num.*, vii., 305; Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Biog.* s.v. *Balbinus*.

which Victory is poised, so that it is well clear of the exergual line on which the feet of the captives rest, has a tendency to pass from the sublime to the ridiculous.

The variety of weight in the gold coins of Gallienus renders it difficult to determine the exact proportion of the one to the others.

No. 16. DIOCLETIANUS.

Obv.—DIOCLETIANVS AVG. Laureate head of the Emperor to right.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVGG. NN. Diocletian seated on throne to right, in his right hand a globe, his left holding a vertical sceptre; behind, Victory standing right, with her right hand placing a wreath over the head of the Emperor, over her left shoulder a palm-branch; in front a crouching captive.

N. 83 grs.

[Pl. XIX. 5.]

This interesting coin, which I procured at Constantinople, presents an entirely new type in conjunction with the legend VIRTVS AVGG, to which in this instance Nostrorum is appended. The device speaks for itself and requires no comment.

No. 17. MAXIMIANUS HERCULEUS.

Obv.—MAXIMIANVS P. AVG. Laureate head of Emperor to right.

Rev.—HERCVLI VICTORI. In exergue P.T.. Hercules standing to left, naked, but with the lion's skin over his shoulders; in his right hand a Victory with wreath and palm-branch, his left supported on his club.

N. 84½ grs.

[Pl. XIX. 6.]

This coin formed part of the hoard found near Alexandria in 1902, and is in my own cabinet. The reverse legend is common enough, but the figure of Hercules, with a Victory in his right hand, is novel. The exergual letters seem to designate Tarraco in Spain, as the mint in which it was struck.

No. 18. MAXIMIANUS HERCULEUS.

Obv.—IMP. MAXIMIANVS AVG. Laureate bust of Maximian to left, with the attributes of Hercules, holding in his right hand a club which rests on his shoulder, and on the other shoulder having the head belonging to the lion's skin.

Rev.—SALVS AVGG. Salus standing right holding a serpent, which she feeds from a patenu.

N. 69 grs.

[Pl. XIX. 7.]

I obtained this coin, also, from the Alexandrian hoard of 1902. The reverse is well known, and presents no special features of interest. The portrait of Maximianus on the obverse is well designed and executed. A nearly similar bust appears on some few of the copper coins of this emperor, but this is the only gold coin presenting this obverse with which I am acquainted.

No. 19. CARAVSIVS.

Obv.—IMP. CARAVSIVS P.F. AVG. Laureate and draped bust of the Emperor to right.

Rev.—PAX AVG, in exergue VOT. V. Peace standing left, an olive-branch in her extended right hand, a nearly vertical *hasta pura* in her left; a part of her robe thrown over her left arm.

N. 64 grs.

[Pl. XIX. 8.]

This coin is in the possession of Wilfred Cripps, Esq., C.B., who has kindly allowed me to figure it. It was found during some excavations at Cirencester, and as the original has been hammered into a somewhat cup-shaped form, the autotype representation of it has been taken from a flattened electrotype.

The coin itself was exhibited to the Numismatic Society on May 16, 1901, and its unique character was then pointed out, as well as its intimate connection with another unique coin in my own collection, on which MVLT. X. occurs in the exergue instead of VOT. V. My coin is figured in *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, vol. vi, Pl. XII. 6, and described at p. 273. In my description I remark that the words MVLT. X. seem to supplement VOTIS V., which on my coin must be understood though not expressed. The discovery of Mr. Cripps's coin fully bears out my remark. The Treaty of Peace between Carausius and the two Emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, was concluded in A.D. 290, and it has been suggested that that year is the probable date of the issue of these coins. The style of the bust on the obverse seems to show that, like many of the copper coins of Carausius, these gold pieces were struck in the mint of London.

No. 20. CARAURUS.

Obe.—IMP. CARAVSIVS P.F. AVG. Laureate and draped bust of the Emperor to right.

Rer.—PAX CARAVSI AVG. Peace standing left, on an exergual line, in her extended right hand an olive-branch, her robe hanging over her left arm, the hand of which holds a nearly vertical *hasta*, the point downwards.

N. 67 grs.

[Pl. XIX. 9.]

This coin was found at Silchester in 1896, but not in that part of the Roman town in which recent excavations have been carried on. It is now in my own collection. The reverse of Pax is that most common on the coins of Carausius, but the introduction of his name in the middle of the reverse legend of this and of the coin next described is almost singular. The same kind of formula may be observed on the reverse of some coins of Gallienus and Postumus. As an obverse legend VIRTVS CARAVSI AVG. is well known.

No. 21. CARAUSIUS.

Obe.—IMP. CARAVSIVS P.F.A. Laureate bust to left, in a cuirass, over which is thrown the *lorum* or consular robe; in the right hand a sceptre surmounted by an eagle. The whole within a beaded circle.

Rev.—CLARIT. CARAVSI AV. Draped bust of the Sun to right, with long hair, four rays proceeding from the back of the head, the whole within beaded circle.

R. 59½ grs.

[PL. XIX. 10.]

This unique and interesting coin was formerly in the collection of the Marquis of Exeter, sold by Messrs. Christie, in March, 1899, and is now in my own cabinet. It is rather imperfectly figured in Spink's Numismatic Circular, for May, 1899, p. 3332, the coin at that time not having been properly cleaned.

The legend CLARITAS AVG. first occurs on a gold coin of Postumus with the jugate heads of the Sun and Moon on the reverse and those of the Emperor and Hercules on the obverse (Coh. No. 12). Eckhel¹² suggests

¹² Vol. vii., 441.

that the meaning of the type is that the deeds of Postumus were as bright and conspicuous as the sun and moon in the heavens. CLARITAS AVG. or AVGG. also appears on silver and copper coins of Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, but with the type of the Sun standing; and CLARITAS REIPUBLICAE, either in full or in an abbreviated form, frequently occurs with the same type on coins of Constantine the Great and his family.

The workmanship of this coin of Carinus is spirited and bold, but there are no indications of the mint at which it was struck. In my own collection,¹³ however, is a silver coin with the same type of obverse, but with two hands joined on the reverse, and the legend CONCORDIA MILITVM and R S R in the exergue. The coin now under consideration may therefore have issued from the same mint, whether Rutupium or elsewhere is still undetermined. There are, moreover, several other coins with the same obverse type and different reverses, all of them with R S R in the exergue.

No. 22. CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS.

Obv.—CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Laureato head to right.

Rev.—HERCVLI DEBELLAT. Hercules to left killing with his club the hydra, which is coiled round his right leg.

N. 80 grs.

[PL. XIX. II.]

This coin, which was probably found in Egypt, was purchased by me in Paris at the same time as No. 15.

¹³ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., i. (1861), p. 161.

The reverse type is common on gold coins of Diocletian and Maximian, but was unknown to Cohen on those of Constantius Chlorus.

No. 23. LICINIUS JUNIOR.

Obv.—D. N. VAL. LICIN. LICINIUS NOB. C.
Youthful laureate bust to right, draped and in cuirass.

Rev.—IOVIO CONSERVATORI CAESS. In exergue
ANT. Jupiter naked, to front but looking left,
in his right hand Victory on a globe, his left
resting on a vertical sceptre; at his feet to left
an eagle with a wreath in his beak, in the field
to right a star and crescent.

N. 81½ ges.

[Pl. XIX. 12.]

I purchased this coin at the De Quelen sale in 1888. A coin of nearly the same type in small brass is described by Cohen as No. 29, but it reads IOVL. The legend IOVIO CONSERVATORI CAESS. is, however, given in the list¹⁶ of legends as occurring on a gold coin of Licinius the Younger. Whether IOVIO is an error of the engraver of the die, or stands for Jovi Olympio, as on some silver coins of Augustus with IOVI OLY or OLYM., it is hard to say. Possibly IOVIVS was a late form of Jupiter. Judging from the face of Licinius the date of the coin is about A.D. 320. It was struck in the mint of Antioch.

JOHN EVANS.

¹⁶ Cohen, vol. viii., p. 396.

XXI.

SOME COINS OF EADGAR AND HENRY VI¹

AMONGST recent acquisitions made by the British Museum are three coins belonging to the Anglo-Saxon and English series, which appear to be of sufficient importance to merit some record. In none of these instances is the type a new one; but each piece furnishes either an additional type or a denomination new to the coinage of the reign to which it belongs. The coins are of Eadgar and Henry VI.

The first piece to be mentioned is a penny of Eadgar, King of Wessex, of which the following illustration and description are given:—



Obv.—EADGAR REX. In the centre a small cross patée.

Rev.—A mitre-shaped object dividing the moneyer's name OS P A L D; below it, a T-shaped cross and a rosette (double-struck).

R. '85. Wt. 15·5 grs.

¹ This paper was read before the Society on the 20th April, 1890.

This reverse type, though new to this reign, is however not unknown in the Anglo-Saxon series. It occurs in the previous reign of Eadwig. These are, however, the only instances of the mitre of this particular form. The connection between the two coins is further strengthened by the fact that they both bear the same moneyer's name and are of precisely the same fabric. It may therefore be concluded that the moneyer Oswald, who struck coins under Eadwig and Eadgar, was one and the same individual.

The object represented on the reverse at first sight is a little difficult to define; but comparing it with illustrations of ecclesiastical ornaments of the period, it is apparent that it is intended to represent a mitre, though the form is somewhat elaborate. It is, however, not altogether unlike a pall or pallium, and as such it has often been described. The T-shaped cross and the rosette, symbolical of the Virgin, are appropriate adjuncts to the main type.

The type is clearly of an ecclesiastical nature, and as such the coin must have emanated from one of the two principal ecclesiastical centres of the time, Canterbury or York. There seems little difficulty in selecting between these mints. One strong argument in favour of Canterbury would be, that the name of Oswald as a moneyer is not found on coins struck by the Northumbrian kings; but it occurs on the Wessex coins not infrequently before and after the reign of Eadgar.² In the absence, therefore, of any mint records, we must be guided by similarity of fabric and style. If we take these as our guide, the clue

² It is not impossible that when Eadgar visited the North in A.D. 973 he took with him his moneyer Oswald, with the express purpose of issuing coins during his stay in the Northumbrian capital.

must be sought in the earlier example, viz., in that struck by Eadwig.

Since the reign of Eadward the Elder, the Kings of Wessex, as occasion occurred, struck coins at York. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle relates that in 924 "Eadweard went northward and built burghs at Northampton and Beakwell, in Peakland, and in the same year he was chosen for father and for lord by the king of the Scots and by the Scots, and by King Regnald and by all the Northumbrians." As the striking of coins was an inherent right of sovereignty even at this time, it is not impossible that when Eadward received the over-lordship from the Northumbrians he struck coins in their capital. If we were to point out any which may have been issued there, we would certainly select some of those which bear representations of buildings, the hand of Providence, scroll ornaments, &c., as they are so totally unlike the usual types of the Wessex coins of that period. Aethelstan, Eadward's successor, struck coins bearing a representation of York Minster, and Eadward styles himself "Rex Eboraci" or "Rex Eboraeum." On the conquest of Northumbria by Eadred in 954 and the expulsion of Eric Blotrox, a regular English mint was established at York and coins were issued by each succeeding monarch. Thus in the reign of Eadwig there are coins bearing the mint-name of York. If we compare these coins with that having the mitre on the reverse, it will be seen that they are of precisely similar style. The obverses correspond in legend and type, and on the reverse in both instances we have a clearly cut and defined rose, which would make it appear that the dies of both series were engraved by the same hand. Having thus fixed the mint-place of the coin of Eadwig, the piece of Eadgar of similar type

and by the same moneyer must be placed side by side with it and for that reason it should be ascribed to York.

The next piece to be mentioned is also a coin of Eadgar, but it is of the very unusual denomination, a halfpenny. It is the only specimen of this reign known. An illustration with description of this piece follows.



Obv.—EADGAR REX. In the centre, a small cross pattée.

Rev.—HILDVLF. Above, a straight line, the ends pommels; from it springs a rose on a stem, between two branches; at the sides of the stem are the letters **H D**; below, a rose.

R. 7. Wt. 8*1*/₂ grs. Pierced.

The occurrence of a coin of this denomination at this particular period would naturally be received with some suspicion. As to the genuineness of this coin, however, there cannot be any question. Before the reign of Eadgar, the only kings of Wessex of whom halfpennies are known, are Aelfred, Eadweard the Elder, and Eadred, the latter being represented by only one specimen and a half, i.e. a cut penny. No coins of this denomination were struck by any of Eadgar's successors. Besides Wessex, Northumbria alone, of all the coin-issuing kingdoms of the Heptarchy, struck halfpennies, and these were issued by nearly all the Norse Kings. Halfdan, the first Northumbrian king of that race, struck them, and they continued to be issued till nearly the end of the rule of these North-

umbrian kings. As Eadgar had established a mint at York, it is therefore to that place that we would ascribe this piece. Moreover, it is very probable that some of the coins of Aelfred of this denomination were of Danish origin, and also that those of Eadweard the Elder and Eadred were struck at York, as we have shown above that these last two kings exercised the right of coinage at that mint. Besides the denomination, the type too is new to this reign, but not new to the Anglo-Saxon series. Pennies of very similar type are found amongst the coins of Eadweard the Elder. They are figured in Hawkins, Pl. XIV., No. 180; Ruding, Pl. XVI., Nos. 8 and 9; and *Brit. Mus. Cat.* ii., Pl. VIII., No. 6. Others are known of Aethelstan, see Ruding, Pl. XVII., No. 12, and *Brit. Mus. Cat.* ii., Pl. X., No. 8; Edmund, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* ii., Pl. XI., No. 9; and Anlaf, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* i., Pl. XXIX., No. 5. This last piece, however, appears to be a copy of Aethelstan's coin, as on the obverse the legend reads ANLAF REX TOD, a clear corruption of the TOT. B. (Totius Britanniae), which occurs on the latter's coins. A remarkable resemblance, too, between the coin of Eadgar and those issued by Eadweard the Elder, is that the same letters occur on each on the reverse at the sides of the rose-stem. It would be rash to say that all the coins of this type were struck at York, but if the surmise that the above halfpenny is of that mint is right, as in the case of Anlaf, the moneyer took as his prototype a similar piece of a preceding reign. The moneyer's name, Hildulf, does not occur on Northumbrian money, but it is found on coins of Eadred of Wessex and Aethelred II., and he may have been employed by Eadgar in the same capacity, and as is conjectured with Oswald, accompanied him in his journey to the north.

As to the meaning of the letters **H D** on the reverse, no very satisfactory solution has been suggested. If the rose-tree has a religious signification, which is not improbable, may not these letters **H D** be the initials of *Yiōs Θeōv.* The forms of **H = u**, and **D = th**, are not infrequent on Northumbrian coins. It has also been suggested that they may stand for **W** and **A**; but this is doubtful, as the letters would be in the wrong position, and it is difficult to make **W** from **H** and **A** from **D**. The significance of these letters is in consequence still open to suggestions.

The third coin to be mentioned is of later date, and belongs to quite another class. It is a noble of the first issue of Henry VI. It may be described as follows:—

Obv. — **H E D R I H *** **D F * G R A V * R E X *** **R A G L *** **X F E T A M ***
D D S * **I Y B ***. The king standing facing in ship, holding sword and shield, two ropes from stern and one from prow; the ornaments from left to right on the ship are lion, two lis, lion, and lis.

Rev. — **TH D *** **A V T H M *** **T R A X D S I G N S *** **P C R *** **M E D I V ***
*** I L L O R V *** *** I B A T ***. Within double tressure of eight arches, a floriated cross with large lis at end of each limb; in each angle lion passant guardant surmounted by a crown; in the centre, an open compartment enclosing the letter **H**, and having at each angle an ornament of three pellets; a trefoil in each spandrel of the arches of the tressure; m.m. cross, pierced.

A. 1·3. Wt. 106·7 grs.

The interest of this coin is in the circumstance that it belongs to the first or annulet coinage of Henry VI, of which hitherto no specimen has been known.¹ It will be

¹ Since this paper was written another specimen of the noble of the annulet coinage has been acquired by the British Museum;

remembered that the gold coins of this reign are divided into four issues or series, distinguished by certain marks which are usually found between the words of the legends. Their order and the various denominations hitherto known of each series are : 1, annulet (half and quarter noble); 2, trefoil and annulet (noble, half and quarter noble);¹ 3, rosette or rosette-mascle (noble, half, and quarter noble); and 4, pine-cone or pine-cone and mascle (noble). It will be seen that of the second and third series the denominations are complete; but of the first series hitherto only the half and quarter noble were known; and of the fourth series only the noble. The recent discovery of the above piece now completes the series of the first issue. Kenyon, *Gold Coins of England*, says of the annulet coinage, "no nobles are known," and of the half-nobles, "these seem to belong to the rosette and trefoil coinages only." In the Montagu collection, however, there was a specimen of the half-noble, which is described as probably unique, and which in the mint-mark and in the stops between the words of the legends precisely corresponds to the above noble. In other respects, too, the coins are alike, with the exception of the reverse legend, which is always different. Of the quarter-noble only three specimens appear to be known; one is in the British Museum, another was

it varies only in having the lis for mint-mark. It was found in France with a large number of English and French gold coins of the time. Still more recently Sir John Evans has acquired a half-noble of this coinage with the pierced cross mint-mark, and another with the lis mint-mark. Of this last piece there is also a specimen in the National collection.

¹ Kenyon (*Gold Coins of England*, p. 49) places the trefoil annulet issue the last in the series; but the points of resemblance between this and the annulet coinage are so numerous it must stand second in the list.

in the Montagu collection, and a third is in that of Sir John Evans. It is very clear, therefore, from their scarcity, that very few gold coins were struck of the annulet coinage.

Of the attribution of the coins of this issue to Henry VI, it is not necessary to enter into any minute explanation. The subject has been fully discussed by Mr. Neck in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1871, and also in Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*, 2nd and 3rd ed. Taking the coinage of Calais as our guide there can be little doubt but that this issue began during the reign of Henry V and was continued into that of Henry VI. The pierced cross as a mint-mark occurs in both reigns; but Hawkins has shown that the silver coins of this issue struck at York could only be given to Henry VI. It would therefore be difficult to state definitely whether these annulet gold coins belong to the last coinage of Henry V or to the first of Henry VI.² It need only be added that the above coin gives us another link in the chain of the coinage of that time, which will be still further completed when we discover the half-noble and quarter-noble of the fourth issue. No doubt in time these also will turn up, in the same manner as the noble and half-noble of the first issue have recently come to light.

H. A. GRUEBER.

² In his recent article on "The Silver Coinage of the Reign of Henry VI" (see *antq.*, pp. 224-263), Mr. F. A. Walters, at p. 280, attributes the silver coins with the pierced cross mint-mark of the form as on our noble to the last issue of Henry V. It is very possible that he would transfer the gold pieces with this mint-mark to that reign also.

XXII.

NOTES ON "A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY I." BY W. J. ANDREW.¹

THE relation of numismatics to other branches of historical study has always been a peculiar one. Trained historians have rarely found time or energy to master its details; and trained numismatists have been prone to content themselves with a slender historical equipment. Indeed, the treatise of Ruding remains almost the only instance of an attempt to combine both means of inquiry.

The appearance of Mr. Andrew's monograph must therefore be of interest to numismatists and historians alike. Only trained numismatists can deal with the numismatic theories and facts propounded in it; but students of history may be permitted to discuss the historical methods employed. In a treatise extending to some five hundred pages Mr. Andrew has attempted to arrange in chronological order every type of coin attributed to Henry I. He has examined all the extant coins, and notices in all a thousand specimens, some of which, he warns us, have probably been described twice over. These coins fall into fifteen types, which are arranged by him in an order in which the profile types and the full-face types occur alternately. He ingeniously gets over the difficulty that there is one profile type

¹ See *Num. Chron.*, Ser. iv., vol. i.

too many for this arrangement by placing the extra profile type after the inquest of menyers in 1125. And with further ingenuity he seeks support for his system from arguments drawn from the history of the family of Fitz-Otho, the hereditary cutters of the King's dies. The conclusion aimed at in this discussion is that the issue of a profile type involved the calling in of all issues prior to and including the last profile type. Certain numismatic evidence is adduced in support of this conclusion. Of historical evidence of its truth or falsity there is no trace.

The second main proposition of the book is, however, based upon evidence of an historic kind. Mr. Andrew has come to the conclusion that in the reign of Henry I provincial mints were mainly in private hands, and could only coin money when the lord to whom they belonged was in England. We must admit that it seems to us wholly impossible to find evidence either for or against such a theory, neither can we regard Mr. Andrew's attempt to support it as demanding serious refutation. The number of existing coins of the provincial mints is small; the movements of the great barons are imperfectly known, and their chronology often unascertainable. And yet it is with a cobweb of argument on such points that Mr. Andrew has filled the greater part of the monograph before us. Deficient evidence has frequently produced bad history; and Mr. Andrew's paper is no exception to this law.

His treatment of the history of the mint of Exeter is only one among many instances. Here the various mentions of Exeter in Domesday, the Pipe Roll of 1130 and the Chronicles are carefully set out; the history of the mint is given from the combined study of the chronicles

and the coins; and finally the coins themselves are enumerated. In this case there are 14 belonging to 5 types, 7 being of Hawkins' type 235. It would appear rash upon so small a basis to assume that these 5 types were all the types issued. Yet Mr. Andrew proceeds to explain not only that this was the case, but why it was the case. Unfortunately at the base of his explanation lies a fundamental error. He assumes that the city of Exeter belonged to the Earls of Devon, whereas it is well known that it belonged to Queen Maud, and that the Earl of Devon had no interest whatever in it. That his whole account of the descent of the Redvers family is incorrect is a small matter beside this fatal error.

It is scarcely necessary to follow Mr. Andrew's history of the mint of Exeter further, but a few more instances of his method may be given. A Cotton MS., which we have been unable to identify, but which Mr. Andrew cites as Cotton MS. Julii, B. 10, states that Henry I granted to Richard de Redvers the honour of Plympton with other places and the *tertius denarius* of the county. Mr. Andrew's comment is characteristic: "probably an error for the *tertius denarius* of the city of Exeter only." Now as Richard de Redvers had the third penny of the county, as Earl of Devon, and had not the third penny of the city of Exeter, we may be pardoned if we agree with the statement in "Cotton, Julii, B. 10," rather than with Mr. Andrew's correction.

Another instance of the kind of reasoning employed may be quoted. "In 1112," says Mr. Andrew, "occurred the foundation of the Norman cathedral" of Exeter, "by William de Warlewast. Unfortunately the charter is not extant, but the usual custom would be followed and the presence of the Lord of Exeter was necessary to join

in the grant of its lands and endowments. So Baldwin, now probably of age, would visit his lordship of Exeter on that occasion to receive his own confirmation charter, and to then grant the charter of foundation to the new church, which again would require a confirmation charter from the King. It is, therefore, no mere coincidences which gives us type 267 (1112-1114) of this mint."

The actual fact is, that in 1130 William de Warlewast, Bishop of Exeter, began to build a new cathedral there. For this no charter of endowment was necessary, and no confirmation charter from the King. It is therefore not surprising that neither of them are extant; neither can the presence of the Earl be considered in the least necessary at such a time; and the whole edifice of Mr. Andrew's argument crumbles into fragments.

It is not only in the case of Exeter that Mr. Andrew constructs his facts to fit his theory. In the case of Lewes, being unable to account for the non-appearance of certain types or "to explain this numismatic catastrophe by the misfortune of the Earl," he takes refuge in the allegation that the burgesses of Lewes betrayed Henry I in 1101, a charge for which he adduces no evidence worth a moment's consideration.

Another serious defect in Mr. Andrew's equipment is his ignorance of mediaeval Latin. He quotes Roger of Wendover in Giles's translation, and prefers to cite the *Dialogus de Scaccario* in Dr. Henderson's inaccurate version. On page 157 he extends *hōibz* into *honoribus*, and translates it "fees or rewards," and then embarks upon a discussion of Exchequer practice, which we are wholly unable to understand. In another place he translates "placitum thessauri" as a Treasury plea, though Glanvill would have told him what it meant. He con-

fuses "portus" with "porta," and thus elaborates the strange theory, which he turns to such wonderful account in his story of the Nottingham mint. And yet the Winchester Domesday, which he quotes, might have saved him from making the assertion that "the gate, according to the institutes of Ethelred II, was the place of coinage"; for in Winchester the mint was in the market-place.

It would be easy to select further instances of the same kind. One more must not be omitted. In his account of Rochester Mr. Andrew cites from Ruding the statement made by Mr. North, on the authority of the *Textus Roffensis*, that Geldwine and Robert were moneymen at Rochester in the time of Henry I. "This," Mr. Andrew comments, "is the usual error . . . caused by land being described in later confirmation charters under the original description," and goes on to point out that Geldwine coined under Edward the Confessor. Now the charters in the *Textus Roffensis* are as follows: A charter by Geldwin, with the witnesses given; and a charter by a Geldwine Grec, to which Geldwin and Robert are both witnesses. Both these charters are witnessed by Helwes, the Archdeacon, who is known to have been Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1134. Had Mr. Andrew looked at the *Textus Roffensis* instead of speculating as to the truth of Ruding's statement, he might have saved himself the trouble of writing a whole page of print.

The need, in fact, remains that a numismatist with a knowledge of history should do over again in the light of modern evidence the work that Ruding attempted. Ruding is not exempt from blunders, and his omissions are many. But his mistakes are usually patent, and his omissions can be supplied. And one virtue of capital

importance he possesses. He very rarely attempts to obtain from his authorities information which they are not capable of affording. Only those who follow his example can become familiar with the "pleasures of ignorance," of which Cardinal Newman speaks in his *Grammar of Assent*.

C. G. CRUMP,

C. JOHNSON,

XXIII.

SOME UNPUBLISHED SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS.

AMONG the large collection of coins given in 1901 to Queens' College, Cambridge, by Mr. Barnes Williams, is a great number of seventeenth-century tokens, numbering about 3,500 specimens. The collection in Queens' College is derived from all parts of England, but is richest in the Kent series.

Among these tokens are many which are not described in Williamson's edition of Boyne's *Trade Tokens*; they are entered in an interleaved copy of Boyne's own work, given to the College museum by Mr. Barnes Williams. The descriptions have been verified in each case.

W. G. SEARLE.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

20. The Queens' College specimen has 1660.

CORNWALL.

Grampond.

- 14 bis. Obv.—AT Y* SPREAD EAGLE = A two-headed eagle.

Rev.—IN · GRAMPONT · 1657. = M · A · G · +

Newport.

50. Perhaps struck by John Norman of Newport Pagnell, Bucks, Williamson, i. 51, No. 102.

ESSEX.

Romford.

- 263 bis. *Obr.*—ELIZABETH · MARCVM. = A lamb couchant.
Rev.—IN RVMFORD · BAKER. = E · M · †

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Hereford.

- 24 bis. *Obr.*—ROGER · MORGAN · 1671. = A fleur de lis.
Rev.—IN HEREFORD HIS HALF PENY.
 R · M · in five lines, octagonal. †

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Mach Hadham.

- 141 bis. *Obr.*—MARGERY · COCKETT. = 1666.
Rev.—IN · MVCH · HADHAM. = MC conjoined. †

Ware.

- 203 bis. *Obr.*—THOMAS · FITT · IN. = HIS HALF-PENY.
Rev.—WEARE · OSTLER · 1667. = T · M · F · †

LONDON.

Aldermanbury.

- 12 bis. *Obr.*—JOHN · BERKET · AT · THE. = A shield
 with a cross saltire in each quarter.
Rev.—IN · ALDERMANBRY · 1669. = HIS ·
 HALF · PENY. †

Barbican.

- 116 bis. *Obr.*—THOMAS · KITCHINMAN · AT · Y. = A
 tree within a garier.
Rev.—IN · BARBICAN · 1666. = HIS · HALF ·
 PENY. †

Basinghall Street.

- 198 bis. *Obr.*—AT · THE · WHITE · HORSE. = A horse.
Rev.—IN · BASINGHAL · STREET. = G · A · S · †

Brick Lane.

413 bis. *Obr.*—JOHN · HARVY 1660. = A doubtful device.

Rev.—IN · BRICK · LANE. = HIS HALF PENY †

Cannon or Candlewick Street.

464 bis. *Obr.*—RICHARD : KENNON : AT. = A peacock.

Rev.—IN : CANNON : STEEETE. = R · M · K. †

Cateaton Street.

483 bis. *Obr.*—ROBERT · GARRETT. = A sugarloaf and a roll of tobacco.

Rev.—IN · CATEATON · STREET. = GRO CER
in two lines. Large †

Chandos Street.

585 bis. *Obr.*—ROBERT · THORPE. = A gate (?)

Rev.—IN · SHANDAY · STREET. = A horse-shoe †

Coleman Street.

711 bis. *Obr.*—THOMAS · HVLL · IN. = A wheat sheaf.

Rev.—COLEMANS · STREET. = T · M · H. †

Cornhill.

732 bis. *Obr.*—STEPHEN · WILKINSON · AT. = Three tuns.

Rev.—Y^E 3-TVNS · IN · CORNHILL. = 16 · S · W.
57 in three lines. †

Covent Garden.

743 bis. *Obr.*—CHARLES · MORGAN · GROCER. = An angel C · M ·

Rev.— . . . · STREET · COVENT . . . = HIS
HALFE PENY. †

Cowcross.

758 bis. *Obr.*—ROBERT · LYFORD · AT · Y^E COPERS.
= Cooper's arms.

Rev.—ARMES · AT · COW · CROSS · 1667. = HIS
HALF PENY in three lines; below R · E · L · †

Carrier's Alley.

817 bis. *Obr.*—IN · CVRIERS · ALLEY. = A dolphin.*Rev.*—IN · SHV · LANE · 1658 (?) = T · M · B · 4

Fetter Lane.

1011 bis. *Obr.*—GEORGE · HARPER. = A bear.*Rev.*—IN · FETTER · LANE. = G · M · H · 4

Field Lane.

1027 bis. *Obr.*—AT · THE · GAY · OF · WARWICK. = Guy
Earl of W. holding a boar's head upon a
spear.*Rev.*—IN · FILD · LANE · 1698. = . . . E · C · 4

Holborn. (So placed by B. W.)

1466 bis. *Obr.*—GEORG · SLATER · AT · Y^E BLEW. = A
shoe sole.*Rev.*—IN · M · LE ROW HIS HALF PENY.
= G · I · S · 4

Iron Gate.

1536 bis. *Obr.*—THE · FOVNTIN · TAVERN. = A fountain.*Rev.*—AT · IRON · GATE · 1651. = I · M · C · 4

Old Swan (B. W.)

2172 bis. *Obr.*—MATHEW · CARR · AT · Y^E · ROSE. = HIS
HALFE PENY in three lines; below
M · M · C ·*Rev.*—TAVERN · AT · Y^E · OVLD · SWAN · 69.
= A rose. 4

Paul's Chain.

2193 bis. *Obr.*—FRANCIS · LASHE (?) · AT. = A rose.*Rev.*—ST PAVLES · CHAINE. = F · E · L · 4

Ratcliff Cross.

2331 bis. *Obr.*—WALTER · ONIONES . . . = A bell.*Rev.*—RATCLIFFE · CROSSE · 1667. = HIS HALFE
PENNY in three lines. 4

Saint John's Lane.

2552 bis. *Obe.*—EDW · BAGLEY AT · Y^E THATCHT. = A house.

Rev.—HOVSE · IN · ST JOHN STREET. = HIS HALF PENY 1668 in four lines. +

Saint Martin's in the Fields.

2636 bis. *Obe.*—JOHN · HIGGS · IN · NEW STREET · IN. = A broche of 7 candles between I · M · H ·

Rev.—ST MARTINS · IN · Y^E · FEILD^S · 1668. = HIS · HALFE PENY. +

Saint Paul's Churchyard.

2723 bis. *Obe.*—FEATHERS · TAVERNE. = A plume of feathers.

Rev.—WESTEND · S · PAVLS. = I · S · B · below B. +

St. Swithin's Lane (so given by Williamson).

2732 bis. *Obe.*—JOSEPH · CLEEVE · BAKER. = A gate.

Rev.—IN : ST · SYTHS · LANE. = I · E · C · +

Seacole Lane.

2756 bis. *Obe.*—GILES · HONE · AT · THE · PVMP. = Coat of arms; three chevrons.

Rev.—IN · SEACOLE LANE · 68. = HIS HALF PENY in three lines; below G · D · H · +

Shoe Lane.

2793 bis. *Obe.*—PASTRY · COOKE · 1657. = A crown.

Rev.—IN · SHOO · LANE. = I · H · K · +

MIDDLESEX.

Brentford.

18 bis. *Obe.*—LVKE · IVORY · OF · OLD. = A man making candles.

Rev.—BRENTFORD · CHAND^R. = L · E · I · +

Islington.

125 bis. *Obv.*—WILL · SAVIDG · AT · Y^E PECOCK. = A peacock.

Rev.—IN · ISLINGTON · 1670. = HIS HALF PENY
in three lines; below W · F · S · $\frac{1}{2}$

OXFORDSHIRE.

Oxford.

181 bis. *Obv.*—WILLIAM WALKER. = A stag courant.

Rev.—IN OXON · 1668. = W · M · W · $\frac{1}{2}$

Watlington.

219 bis. *Obv.*—NICHOLAS · LANGFORD. = A man in front of a bull.

Rev.—IN · WATLINGTTON · 1670. = HIS HALF PENY in three lines; below N · G · L · $\frac{1}{2}$

SOUTHWARK.

Blackman Street.

194 bis. *Obv.*—AT · 3 · PIDGONS. = Three pigeons.

Rev.—IN · BLACKMAN · STRRET. = C · A · W · $\frac{1}{2}$

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Leek.

26 bis. *Obv.*—IOHN . . . D · 1666. = Two roses I · W ·

Rev.—IN · LEE . . (three roses). = HIS HALF PENY (a fragment). $\frac{1}{2}$

SUFFOLK.

Stratford.

820 bis. *Obv.*—RICHARD HVNT = R · A · H ·

Rev.—IN STRATFORD 1651 = R · A · H · $\frac{1}{2}$
Boyne No. 250, omitted in Williamson.

825 bis. *Obv.*—WILLIAM · VGL . . OF. = A man making candles.

Rev.—STRATFO . . . = W · V ·

SURREY.

Beddington.

13. The type on Obv. is an axe.

Croydon.

38 bis. *Obr.*—DORATHE · EATEN (two roses). = A tankard.

Rev.—AT · CROYDEN · 1666. = D · E and roses. + Ewell.

71. The name and the date on *Obv.* is Ferdinando Downeinge (in script) 1663.

Godalming.

93. The type on *Obv.* is the dove and olive branch.

WARWICKSHIRE.

Coleshill.

51 bis. *Obr.*—RICHARD · JOHNSON · OF. = Apothecaries' arms.

Rev.—COLESHVL · APOTHECARY = R · I and $\frac{1}{2}$

Coventry.

80 bis. *Obr.*—GEORGE · MONCK. = Two men carrying a barrel.

Rev.—IN · COVENTRY · 166 (detrited). +

WILTSHIRE.

Chippenham.

43 bis. *Obr.*—SAMVEL · GAGE · OF. = Three doves.

Rev.—CHIPPENHAM · 1668. = S · E · G · +

44 bis. *Obr.*—JOHN · HACKMAN (quite plainly, not "Heerman," as Williamson No. 45). = A currycomb (?)

Rev.—IN · CHIPENHAM · 1671. = I · M · H · + (See Williamson.)

YORKSHIRE.

Haworth.

118 bis. *Obr.*—RICHARD NEAST = 1664.

Rev.—IN HAYWORTH = R · N ·

Boyne No. 108; omitted in Williamson.

MISCELLANEA.

BRISTOL TOKENS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.—As it is three years since my previous paper was printed (see *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., vol. xix., pp. 850-861), it may now be interesting to record the additional pieces that have come under my notice during that period, with some further observations:—

CIRCULAR PENCE (dated).

- 18a.—Similar to No. 13, but with raised letters I. R. in the centre of the arms on the reverse (the letter "R" reversed). These letters, which are raised, were evidently contemporary with the casting. (From a Bristol excavation in 1890.)
- 17a.—Similar to No. 17, but the inscription reads BRISTOL. (From a Bristol excavation in 1890.)
- 17b.—Similar to No. 17, but with a single fleur-de-lis over C. B.; a lozenge between the letters.

Note.—The specimens Nos. 11 and 17b appear to indicate that the engraver of the dies was of French extraction. I have carefully examined hundreds of these town pieces, but these are the only two specimens I know of bearing this addition. The latter piece is in the cabinet of Mr. W. Symonds.

- 18a.—Similar to No. 18; mint-mark, on obverse, a rose; on the reverse, a large rose pierced. (From a Bristol excavation in 1890.)

Note.—In writing of this period my friend, Mr. Latimer, says:—"After having suspended the issue of small tokens for

¹ *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 358.

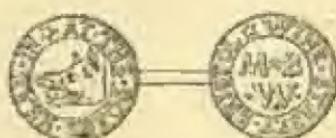
several years, the Corporation about this time put in circulation a number of Bristol farthings, struck from two dies showing slight variations, but both bearing the date 1870. No reference to these coins is to be found in the civic accounts, and it is clear that they were circulated without the sanction of the Government, for at a Council meeting on October 3rd, the chamberlain announced the receipt of information that a *quo warrantum* was suspected to be preparing against the Corporation for unlawfully stamping and issuing the farthings. As the matter does not turn up again, the Corporation apparently succeeded in obtaining forgiveness from the Ministry."

PRIVATE TOKENS.

22. WILLIAM COOKE.—It is probable that this Jesuit was the same William Cooke, grocer, of High Street, who, in the troublous times (August, 1641), together with Dennis Hollister, afterwards M.P., was brought before the magistrates and committed for trial, charged with keeping a conventicle and occasioning a riot for several hours before his own door. He was evidently a prominent citizen, as the houses in High Street were then of the most important character, all being handsome overhanging timber structures with high gabled roofs.

UNPUBLISHED.

I have just discovered yet another eighteenth-century private trader's token, which also came from the Bristol Harbour dredgings, whence so many historic specimens have been rescued. It is as follows:—



Obv.—AT . THE . BOARS . HEAD , is = A Boar's Head.

Rev.—WINE . STREET . BRISTOL = M . B . W:

I have not been able to trace any tavern bearing that name in Wine Street (it was at the "Horse-shoe," in this same street, that Samuel Pepys put up on his memorable visit in 1668), but as in the Commonwealth period so many shopkeepers conducted their business by a "sign," the issuer was most probably not an inn-keeper. But careful research may enable me to clear up this point, which is of no little interest.

As Mr. Williamson, in his edition of Boyne's *Trade Tokens* (1889) only described *one* private token, the only one then known, it will doubtless be useful to record here the present complete list:—

JOHN . BRADWAY
WILLIAM . COOKE
JOHN . JENKINS
THOMAS . RICRAFT
M . B . W (The Boar's Head)

Bristol was a great and prosperous city at that period, and it is therefore most likely that many other traders issued similar pieces to facilitate business.

JOHN E. PRITCHARD,

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 1885 EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.
 1886 MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, G.S.I., C.I.E.
 1887 JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.
 1888 DR. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, of Winterthur.
 1889 PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A.
 1890 MONSIEUR J. P. SIX, of Amsterdam.
 1891 DR. C. LUDWIG MÜLLER, of Copenhagen.
 1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.
 1893 MONSIEUR W. H. WADDINGTON, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
 1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, of Berlin.
 1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.
 1897 DR. ALFRED VON SALLET, of Berlin.
 1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
 1899 MONSIEUR ERNEST BABERON, Membre de l'Institut, Conservateur des Médailles, Paris.
 1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANKEPOOLE, M.A., Litt.D.
 1901 S. E. BARON VLADIMIR VOX TIESENHAUSEN.
 1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1902-1903.

October 16, 1902.

Sir JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The President proposed, and Sir Augustus Prevost seconded,
a vote of condolence with the family of the late Mr. Alfred E.
Copp, who for over twenty years had filled the office of
Hon. Treasurer to the Society.

A. H. Baldwin, Esq., and Edward Charles Davey, Esq.,
were elected Members of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the
table:—

1. Monatsschatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
Nos. 226-230.

2. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring.
Aarsberetning for 1901.

3. Academie royale de Belgique; Bulletin de la Classe des
Lettres, 1901; and Nos. 1-8, 1902.

4. A sketch catalogue of Australian copper tokens. Revised
edition. By M. H. Long. From the Author.

5. *Bulletin de Numismatique*, Mars-Juillet, 1902.
 6. *Bulletin international de Numismatique*. Nos. 2-3.
 7. Una Medaglia d' Argento di Vincenzo Bellini. By L. Pasotti. From the Author.
 8. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. xxii. Pt. 1.
 9. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 3^{me} et 4^{me} livr., 1902.
 10. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 1^{er} trim., 1902.
 11. *Revue Numismatique*. 2^{me} trim., 1902.
 12. *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. vi. Nos. 2 and 3.
 13. *Archaeologia Cantiana*. Vol. xxxv.
 14. *Thirty-second Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint*, 1901.
 15. *Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia*, 1899-1901.
 16. *Le più antiche Monete di Napoli*. By L. Correra. From the Author.
 17. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxii. Pt. 2.
 18. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society of New York*, 1902.
 19. *American Journal of Numismatics*. April-June, 1902.
 20. *Alcuni Acquisti del R. Gabinetto numismatico di Brera*. By S. Ambrosoli. From the Author.
 21. *La Gazette Numismatique*. Mai-Juillet and Oct., 1902.
 22. *Papers of the British School at Rome*. Vol. i.
 23. *Report on the Administration of the Government Museum, Madras*, 1901-2.
 24. Dell' Affinità delle Monete di Restituzione e le Monete dei Nomi d'Egitto. By G. Dattari. From the Author.
- Mr. S. B. Boulton exhibited a gold quarter stater of the British chief Cunobelinus, struck at Camulodunum, and having on the obverse an ear of corn and the legend CAM. CVN., and

on the reverse a horse and the legend CVN. (Evans, Pl. IX., 11). The occurrence of this chief's name on both faces is most unusual on his coins.

Mr. H. W. Taffs showed two pennies of Alfred, and a groat and two half-groats of Edward III. found at Southend.

Mr. W. Webster exhibited a quarter-noble of Edward III., with the letter α in the centre of the cross on the reverse, which he attributed to the fourth coinage of that monarch.

Mr. L. Forrer showed some medals and plaques published by the Société des Amis de la Médaille Française, and executed by the artists Gardet, De Vernon, Legastelois, Niclausse, and Daniel Dupuis.

The President read a paper on some rare or unpublished Roman coins, among which are two denarii of Galba struck in Spain; some aurei of Julia Domna and Caracalla, with their portraits; of Diadumenian as Caesar, showing two varieties of portrait; of Elagabalus, with a representation of the sacred stone "Elagabal" in a chariot; of Balbinus, with reverse type of Victory, the only gold coin known of that emperor; and two others of Carausius with figures of Pax, varying in treatment; also a very rare denarius of that emperor with the head of Sol on the reverse. Some of the gold coins came from the recent finds in Egypt at Minieh and Alexandria. This paper is printed in Vol. ii., p. 345.

NOVEMBER 20, 1902.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

W. C. Boyd, Esq., was unanimously elected Hon. Treasurer of the Society in succession to the late Alfred E. Copp, Esq.

A letter was read from A. E. G. Copp, Esq., conveying the thanks of his mother and the other members of his family for the vote of condolence passed at the previous meeting on

the death of his father, A. E. Copp, Esq., Hon. Treasurer of the Society.

Henry Pentiman, Esq., Oswald Fitch, Esq., François John Haverfield, Esq., F.S.A., R. Alfred Jones, Esq., and Henry C. Ramsden, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. xxxii. Pt. 3.
2. Ancient Tokens of Colchester. By E. N. Mason. From the Author.
3. Monatshatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 231 and 232.
4. False Shillings. By G. F. Hill. From the Author.
5. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 2nd trim., 1902.
6. Revue Numismatique. 3rd trim., 1902.
7. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xxxvii. No. 1. 1902.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a fine specimen of the Biundean pattern half-crown with inscribed edge and dated 1651.

Sir Augustus Prevost exhibited a specimen of the newly-issued two and half gulden of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, the dies for which were executed in 1898.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a sestertius of Galba with the reverse legend "Senatus Pietati Augusti," and with a senator crowning the emperor.

Mr. C. E. Mackerell exhibited two similar coins of Vitellius.

Mr. J. Pinches showed specimens of the University College of South Wales medal for anatomy, of the Royal Society's memorial medal of David William Hughes, and a new prize medal for the Royal Agricultural Society.

Mr. H. W. Taaffe showed a pattern penny of Victoria dated 1885.

Mr. P. Cawley-Britton read a paper on the rare penny of Regnald I., King of Northumbria, having the hammer of Thor on the obverse, and a strong bow with arrow on the reverse.

Mr. W. Wroth communicated an account of the Greek coins recently acquired by the British Museum, amongst which were copper pieces of Aphytis; Potidaea; Pausanias, King of Macedon, n.c. 390-389; Aegium, with reverse the boy Zeus standing on a pedestal; and Naukratis; also silver pieces of Larissa with the nymph seated on a hydria and holding one of her sandals; of the Federation of the Achaean cities, being a didrachm of the first Achaean Federation, circa n.c. 370; and of Neandria, Cyme, and Mytilene. The paper is printed in Vol. ii., p. 313.

DECEMBER 18, 1902.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The President announced that the Council had had under consideration a proposal to change the hour of the Ordinary Meetings from 7 p.m. to 6.30 p.m., and suggested that the question should come up for discussion at the next Ordinary Meeting of the Society to be held on the 15th January next. The meeting approved the suggestion of the Council and ordered that, in accordance with the Statutes, due notice of the proposed change should be sent to each Member of the Society.

J. G. Covernton, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. xxii. Pt. 2.
2. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Tome xi. 1^{re} livr.
3. Appunti di Numismatica Alessandrina. By G. Dattari.
From the Author.

4. *La Gazette Numismatique.* Nov. 1902.

5. *Transactions of the Japan Society.* Vol. v.

The President exhibited two half-nobles and a quarter-noble of the annulet coinage of Henry VI. These coins afforded strong evidence that the trefoil-annulet coinage followed the annulet one and should not be placed last in the series as proposed by Mr. Kenyon in his *Gold Coins of England*.

Sir Augustus Prevost exhibited a prize medal presented by himself, and to be awarded to the company of the 25th Middlesex Volunteers, composed of porters and messengers in the employment of the Bank of England. The medal has portraits of the King and Queen on the obverse and a seated figure of Britannia on the reverse.

Mr. C. A. Mackerell showed a sestertius of Commodus with the reverse type the Emperor spearing a lion. It resembles in fabric the medallions of that period.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a denier of Boemund I., struck at Antioch.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed impressions in shillae of the Waterloo medal by Pistrucci.

Mr. Grueber read a paper on the recent find of silver coins at Colchester. The find numbered about 10,926 pieces which were mostly English pennies of the short-cross coinage (1180-1248). Besides these there was a considerable number of contemporary Irish and Scottish pennies and a few foreign deniers ésterlin. The writer gave an analysis of the hoard, which he said confirmed in a most satisfactory manner the classification of the short-cross money proposed by the President as far back as 1865. Mr. Grueber was of opinion that the hoard formed part of the exchange, which took place on the issue of the long-cross money in 1248, and that it had been stolen, or concealed, and not unearthed till a few months ago. This paper is printed in Vol. iii., p. 111.

JANUARY 15, 1903.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President; in the Chair.

The following alterations in the Rules relating to the hours of Meetings of the Society were proposed and carried unanimously.

Rule 28.—For "Business shall commence at seven o'clock in the evening precisely" read "Business shall commence at half-past six o'clock in the evening precisely."

Rule 31.—For "A General Meeting shall be held annually on the third Thursday in June at 7 p.m." read "A General Meeting shall be held annually on the third Thursday in June at 6.30 p.m."

Rule 33.—For "The Ballot shall commence at 7 p.m. and close at 8 p.m." read "The Ballot shall commence at 6.30 p.m. and close at 7 p.m."

Henry Elliott Fox, Esq., Harry Price, Esq., and Max Rosenheim, Esq., F.S.A., were elected Members of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Numismatic Circular, 1902. From Messrs. Spink and Sons.
2. Revue Belge de Numismatiques. 1^{re} livr., 1903.
3. Kong. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Academis Månadsblad. 1897. From the Society.
4. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. vi, No. 4, and Vol. xxiv., Pt. 1.
5. J. Laugier: un Numismate Provençal. By Baron Guillibert. From the Author.
6. Bonner Jahrbücher. Heft 108-9.
7. Monatsschrift der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 233.
8. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. vi, No. 4, and Supplement. From the Archaeological Institute of America.

9. Trois Monnaies Luxembourgeoises. By the Vic^e R. de Jonghe. From the Author.

10. Répertoire Général de Médallistique. By Paul Ch. Stroehlin. From the Author.

The President exhibited a medallion in bronze of the emperor, Gordian III., having on the reverse the emperor on horseback, preceded by Victory and accompanied by soldiers.

Mr. G. R. Marten sent for exhibition through the President a forgery of a half-crown of Victoria made in Sicily, and another of a shilling of the same reign made in Germany.

Mr. W. C. Boyd exhibited a denarius of Julia Maesa, grandmother of Elagabalus, with the unpublished type of reverse "Fides Militum" seated.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn showed a series of one-third farthings struck for currency in Malta, including one of Edward VII.

Mr. Boyd gave an account of a find of Roman coins made at Salbris, near Romorantin in the Department of the Loire. The find consisted of from six to seven hundred base denarii extending from the reign of Valerian to that of Aurelian, A.D. 253-270, and included many pieces of Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus and Tetricus I. and II.

Mr. Grueber read a paper on a small hoard of coins of the time of Alfred discovered recently at Stamford. Some of the pennies of Alfred were of the Lincoln and London mints, one of the latter bearing the moneyer's name on the obverse instead of the king's. Amongst the halfpennies of Alfred were two of an unpublished type, bearing on the reverse a monogram formed of the Greek letters, α and ω . There was also a half denier of Charles the Bald struck at St. Denis. The find was an interesting one, as several of the coins, which purported to be of Alfred, were Danish copies of his coins, which may to a certain degree be accounted for, as Stamford was one of the five burgs which were specially set apart by Alfred or his successor for the occupation of the Danish population.

FEBRUARY 19, 1903.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., Vice-President in the Chair.

H. Alexander Parsons, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Bulletin international de Numismatique. Vol. I., No. 1.
2. American Journal of Numismatics. Oct., 1902.
3. Bulletin de Numismatique. Oct.-Dec., 1902.
4. Bullettino di Numismatica e del Circolo Numismatico Milanese. No. 1, 1903.
5. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien, No. 234.
6. Annual Report of the Board of Reports of the Smithsonian Institute. 1901.
7. Rivista Italiana di Numismatika. Fasc. 4, 1902.
8. Revue Numismatique. 4th trim., 1902.
9. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Pt. iv., 1902.
10. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3rd trim., 1902.
11. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxii. Heft 3 and 4.
12. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. Nos. 9-12, 1902.
13. Royal Irish Academy: Proceedings. Vol. xxiv., Pt. 2.
14. Coronation medal in bronze for Hong-Kong. From Messrs. J. Edwards and Co.

Mr. Horace W. Monekin exhibited two London pennies of Henry VI. of the rosette-masculi and pine-cone-masculi coinages.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed a Canterbury penny of the first issue of Edward III. with English 'x's in the legend and the portrait of the king resembling that of Edward II.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin exhibited a copper coin of Carausius struck at Camulodunum, and having on the reverse a centaur and the legend "Leg. III. Flavia."

Mr. F. A. Walters read a paper on the gold coinage of Henry VI. After calling attention to the large amount of gold coined (according to the Mint records) during the first six years of this reign as compared with the small amount during the later years, Mr. Walters gave reasons for attributing the bulk of Henry VI's gold coins to the annulet and not to the trefoil coinage, as has been done hitherto by English numismatists. The writer suggested that the flag in the stern of the ship on some nobles and half-nobles was the distinguishing mark of the Calais mint both in this and previous reigns; and it was also suggested that the fleur-de-lis on the ship's stern on other pieces denoted the York-mint. He concluded with a classification of the coins of the several gold issues, which he showed corresponded in a remarkable manner with those of the silver money.

MARCH 19, 1903.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., Vice-President in the Chair.

Oberst-Lieut. M. Bahrfeldt of Halle, Saxony, was elected an Hon. Member of the Society, and William H. Regan, Esq., an ordinary Member.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum: Coins of Parthia. By Warwick Wroth. From the Trustees of the British Museum.
2. Appunti di Numismatica Alessandrina. Pt. xvi. By G. Dattari. From the Author.
3. Bollettino di Numismatica. No. 2. Feb., 1903.

4. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1900.
5. Annuaire de l'Académie royale de Belgique, 1903.
6. Archaeologia Aetiana. Vol. xxiv. Pt. III.
7. Berliner Münzblätter. Jan., 1903.
8. La Gazette Numismatique. Jan., 1903.
9. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien, No. 235.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a halfpenny of Edward III. (?) struck in London. The portrait of the king differed much from that usually found on Edward's coins, being long and narrow.

Mr. W. Talbot Ready showed an unpublished drachm of the fourth century B.C., struck at Atarnous, with head of Apollo on the obverse and a serpent on the reverse.

Mr. Harry Price exhibited specimens of copper beast-shaped money from Laos, and an eighteenth-century manuscript catalogue of a collection of Greek and Roman coins.

Dr. O. Codrington showed a gold coin of the Malay Peninsula, probably struck at Aceh in the fourteenth century, and a tutenag copy of a mohur of Shah Jehan.

Mr. Grueber read the first portion of a paper on Roman copper money of the first century B.C., which included not only that struck at Rome, but also local issues of the East, Spain, and Gaul. The writer first dealt with the coinage of the East which was struck in the names of Mark Antony, P. Camidius Crassus, the legate of Antony, and Augustus. From analyses of the coins these issues appeared to be of the semuncial standard.

APRIL 23, 1903.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. vii. No. 1.

2. *Revue Numismatique.* 1^{re} trim., 1903.
3. *Bulletin de Numismatique.* Jan.-Feb., 1903.
4. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica.* Fasc. 1, 1903.
5. *Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres.* Nos. 1-2, 1903; et de la Classe des Sciences No. 1, 1903.
6. *Bullettino di Numismatica.* Nos. 3-4.
7. *Ancient Greek Coins.* Vol. ii. Syracuse. By Frank Sherman Benson. From the Author.
8. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.* Vol. xix. No. 1.
9. *Revue Belge de Numismatique.* 2^{me} livr., 1903.
10. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.* No. 236.
11. *American Journal of Numismatics.* Jan.-Mar., 1903.

Mr. T. A. Lawrence exhibited a penny of Edward I. (13) struck at Newcastle, and bearing a similar portrait of the king to that on the London halfpenny shown by him at the preceding meeting of the Society.

Mr. P. Carlyon Britton showed an Anglo-Saxon sceat found at Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, having on the obverse a small head surrounded by ten circles, and on the reverse a fantastic bird.

Mr. W. G. Boyd exhibited a copper coin of Constantine II. struck at Treves, with the diademed bust to left on the obverse, and the legend CONSTANTINVS AVG. within a wreath on the reverse. It is a combination, somewhat varied, of Cohen, *Mona. Imp. Rom.*, Nos. 69 and 68.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a half-groat of the heavy coinage of Henry IV. and two half-groats of the light coinage.

Mr. Graeber read the second and concluding portion of his paper on "Roman Copper Coinage of the First Century B.C." dealing with the issues in Spain, in Gaul, and of the mint at Rome. With regard to the last series, the writer, following

the classification of the late Count de Salis, showed that in B.C. 44 and 43, an attempt was made at Rome to revive the issue of a copper currency which had been in abeyance since B.C. 80, but that it was not successful. When the re-appearance of moneyers' names on the coinage occurred, circa B.C. 16, the copper currency was again revived, and from that time was continuous. The analyses of the metals from which these last coins were struck showed that the sestertius and dupondius were of *orichalcum*—i.e., brass; composed of 75 per cent. copper and 25 per cent. zinc—and that the as and quadrans were practically of pure copper. The current value of the *orichalcum* coins was nearly double that of those of pure copper.

MAY 21, 1903.

SIR JONAS EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Bulletin International de Numismatique. Vol. ii., No. 1.
2. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. Nos. 3 and 4, 1903.
3. Notes on Indian coins and seals. By E. J. Rapson. From the Royal Asiatic Society.
4. A Malay coin. By Col. Gorini. From the Royal Asiatic Society.
5. Numismatische Zeitschrift. 1902.
6. Monatshatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 237-238.

7. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Vol. xxxiii. Pt. 1.

8. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.
4^{me} trim., 1902.

The President exhibited a bronze *sestertius* of Augustus struck by the *Commissar Asiae* in A.C. 27, having on the obverse the head of Augustus and on the reverse the letters C. A. within a wreath; and also a dupondius of the same emperor struck at Lyons with a view of the Altar on the reverse. The head of Augustus on the obverse is more after the style of that on medallions. It is figured in *Nom. Zeitschr.*, Vol. xxxv., Pl. v. 9.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed an Anglo-Saxon sceat recently found in Goldsmith Street, Drury Lane, during some excavations. On the obverse is a floriated whorl and on the reverse a female centaur.

Mr. F. Wilson Yeates exhibited some copper tickets inscribed on the obverses "Folly," and on the reverses with the names of "Q. Galt" or "Hulbert," which he thought were used as checks at the Folly Inn near Bathwick.

Mr. W. Webster exhibited a gold medallion of Constantius II. as Caesar struck at Treves; having a laureate bust on the obverse, and on the reverse Constantius crowned by Victory, raising a female figure wearing a turreted crown and supported by a soldier. Around, the legend "PIETAS AVGVSTI NOSTRI." This medallion was evidently struck by Constantius during his governorship of Gaul, A.D. 332.

Mr. P. Carleton-Britton read a paper on "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," in which he proposed some modifications in the order of the types based on what are termed "mules," i.e., pieces having the obverse type of one issue and the reverse type of another. In attempting to fix the dates of the different issues he was of opinion that when a change of type took place the reverse dies were issued on the 29th Sept., i.e., Michaelmas; but that the obverse dies did not

appear till the Christmas following. In a discussion which followed, Mr. Grueber criticised Mr. Carlyon-Britton's arrangement of the earlier types, and said that the attempt to fix the actual dates of the issues of the new dies was purely speculative.

JUNE 18, 1903.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Horace W. Monckton and Mr. Richard A. Hoblyn were appointed scrutineers of the ballot for the election of the Council and the Officers for the ensuing year.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Society.

GENTLEMEN.—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With much regret they have to announce the death of the following six Ordinary Members :—

G. D. Brown, Esq.
Alfred E. Copp, Esq., *Hon. Treas.*
H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
John Glaag Murdoch, Esq.
H. P. Smith, Esq.
J. M. Stobart, Esq.

And of the following Hon. Member :—

S. E. Baron Vladimir von Tiesenhausen.

The Council also regret to announce the resignation of the following nine Ordinary Members :—

- W. J. Andrew, Esq., F.S.A.
- F. Brayne Baker, Esq.
- H. Cassels Kay, Esq.
- H. W. Lawrence, Esq.
- A. B. Richardson, Esq.
- E. J. Sidebotham, Esq., M.B.
- C. F. Spink, Esq.
- R. Fairfax Studli, Esq.
- Lient.-Col. R. N. Sturt.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the following thirteen Ordinary Members :—

- A. H. Baldwin, Esq.
- J. G. Covernton, Esq., M.A.
- Edward Charles Davey, Esq.
- H. Elliott Fox, Esq.
- Harry Fentiman, Esq.
- Oswald Fitch, Esq.
- P. G. Haverfield, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
- E. Alfred Jones, Esq.
- H. Alexander Parsons, Esq.
- Harry Price, Esq.
- Henry A. Ramsden, Esq.
- William Henry Regan, Esq.
- Max Rosenheim, Esq., F.S.A.

And of the election of the following Hon. Member :—

Oberst-Lieutenant M. Bahrfeldt.

It will be seen from the above statement that an unusual number of deaths and resignations has been nearly met by an exceptional number of elections ; the effect of which is to cause

but slight change in the numerical state of the Society, which as compared with last year is as follows:—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1902	270	23	293
Since elected	13	1	14
	283	24	307
Deceased	6	1	7
Resigned	9	—	9
June, 1903	268	23	291

The Council have to announce that they have awarded the medal of the Society to M. Léon Gustave Schlumberger, Membre de l'Institut de France, in recognition of his services to Numismatics, more especially in connexion with the coinages of the Latin East.

The Council have also to announce that they have had before them a proposal duly made by nine Members, and supported by a large number of Members of the Society, that Rule 45 should be amended by the addition of the words "Every such paper, or, if it be too long, a synopsis of its contents, shall be read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society before insertion in the Chronicle."

After careful consideration the Council, being of opinion that, if the proposed alteration of the Rules were made, the regular publication of the Chronicle would be delayed and the work of the Editors immensely increased, ordered that the following circular expressing their view be sent to Members of the Society before the General Meeting.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON.

Proposed Alteration of Rules.

The Council of the Numismatic Society have had before them a proposal, strongly supported, that Rule 45 be altered by the addition at the end thereof of the words, "Every such

paper, or, if it be too long, a synopsis of its contents, shall be read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society before insertion in the Chronicle."

The Council, while regretting that an article in the Numismatic Chronicle has met with a certain amount of disapproval, venture to think that the supporters of this proposal can hardly be aware of the difficulties that attend the regular publication of the Chronicle, or of the amount of work entailed upon the Editors. They would point out that the spirit of the proposed alteration in the Rule is at present so far as practicable complied with both by the Officers of the Society and by the Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle; but the Council cannot recommend the adoption of the proposed alteration, inasmuch as if it were literally carried out it would be almost impossible for the Editors to fulfil the duties delegated to them by the Council, especially during the four months of the year in which there are no Ordinary Meetings of the Society.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

JOHN EVANS,

PRESIDENT.

22 Albemarle Street,
28th May, 1903.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then submitted to the Meeting and adopted.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the
THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON

Dr.

	<i>L s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
To Messrs. Virtue & Co. for printing <i>Chronicles</i>	5 3	
Part I, 1902	57 6 3	
" III, "	67 5 0	
" IV, "	41 3 8	
	<hr/>	166 0 11
.. The Antotype Company for Plates	69 14 6	
.. The Royal Asiatic Society, one year's rent due June 24, 1903 . .	30 0 0	
.. Mrs. Harper, for attendance, Tea, Coffee, &c.	10 10 8	
.. Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for Bookbinding	2 1 5	
.. Messrs. Whittingham & Co., for Stationery	2 1 6	
.. Messrs. Thomas Mills, for Stationery	1 5 6	
.. Messrs. Hachette, for "Dictionnaire des Antiquités"	3 9	
.. Mr. D. Quaritch, for Catalogues	1 0 0	
.. Mr. F. Anderson, for Drawing Coins	12 0	
" "	1 5 0	
" "	8 0	
" "	1 0 0	
" "	1 12 0	
	<hr/>	4 17 0
.. Mr. Pinches, for Engraving	1 0	
.. Messrs. Williams & Norgate, for Reinsch, "L'Hist. par les Monnaies"	8 6	
.. Fire Insurance	15 0	
.. Mr. I. W. Miles, for Legal Expenses	2 2 0	
.. Secretaries' Account	5 0 0	
.. Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, &c., and Cheque Book . .	1 12 3	
.. Collector (Mr. C. G. Coleman), for Commission and Postages .	1 4 5	
By Balance in hand	196 7 0	
	<hr/>	£405 17 0

Examined and found correct,

15th June, 1903.

THOS. BLISS,
ARTHUR H. LYELL, } Auditors.

Numismatic Society, from June, 1902, to June, 1903.

ACCOUNT WITH WILLIAM C. BOYD, HON. TREASURER. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Statement	154	19	1
" Entrance Fees	13	13	0
" Subscriptions	236	11	3
Amount received for <i>Chronicles</i> —			
Mr. B. Quaritch	£ 3	15	0
"	49	10	0
"	14	5	0
	<hr/>	38	10
" Mr. C. B. Stainer	14	0	0
" Mr. E. Rapson	15	0	0
" Messrs. H. Virtue & Co., Limited, discount returned	5	1	0
" Inland Revenue, Returned Income Tax	4	3	5
" Allowances on old Cheques	1	0	0
" August Dividend on £700 London and North-Western Railway 4% Consolidated Preference Stock (less Tax 6s. 11d.)	13	3	1
" February ditto (less Tax 17s. 6d.)	13	2	6

£495 17 5

WILLIAM C. BOYD,

HONORABLE TREASURER.

15th June, 1903.

The Report of the Council was received and, after considerable discussion, adopted. By a Resolution of the Meeting the Ballot for the Council and Officers remained open till 7.30 p.m. After the Report of the Council had been adopted, and after some further discussion as to the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, the President presented the Society's Medal to Mr. B. V. Head to forward to M. Schlumberger, who was unable to attend the meeting, and addressed him as follows:—

Mr. Head.—I have much pleasure in presenting to you the Medal of this Society for transmission to Mons. Léon Gustave Schlumberger, Membre de l'Institut de France. It has been awarded to him by the Council in recognition of his long and important services to numismatic science, more especially in connection with the coinages of the Latin East.

For a period of nearly thirty years he has devoted special attention to this department of our studies, but his description of the coins, jetons and medals of Béarn, which forms a second volume of the Monetary History of that important ancient province of France, and his various articles on Byzantine Coins republished in his *Mélanges d'Archéologie Byzantine*, show that his interests are not confined to a single branch of numismatics. His *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* and his *Nicéphore Phocas* bear evidence to the same effect. I must also mention his *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, which is not unconnected with the coinage. But, after all, it is in respect of his *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, published in 1878, with a supplement in 1882, that this award has been mainly made. This exhaustive work treats of the Principalities of Syria and Palestine, the Kingdom of Cyprus and the Grand Masters of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem at Rhodes, beginning with the eleventh and coming down to the fifteenth century; and enables us to trace both by historic and numismatic evidence, the rise and

progress of the Crusades and their far-reaching results. The work is indeed one that affords an admirable example of the due combination of historical and numismatic research, and in conveying to M. Schlumberger this medal we may express not only our gratitude to him for his past achievements, but our hope that there may be other fields before him in which his labours in the future may produce equally valuable and satisfactory results.

Mr. Head, in returning thanks for the medal on behalf of M. Schlumberger, who was unable to be present, said that this was the seventh occasion on which he had been privileged to act as the deputy-recipient of the Society's medal on behalf of a Numismatist of European reputation. He had read before the Annual Meetings letters of warm acknowledgment for the award of the medal from the Oriental numismatist, Edward Thomas, in 1885, from Imhoof-Blumer, in 1888, from J. P. Six of Amsterdam, in 1890, from his kind old friend and adviser, M. W. H. Waddington, in 1893, from Mommsen, the veteran historian of ancient Rome, in 1895, and from his learned colleague, Von Sallet of Berlin, in 1897. And now, once again, he had the honour of communicating to the Society the following letter addressed to him by another distinguished foreign numismatist, M. Gustave Schlumberger, whose published works have already gained for him the highest honour to which an Archaeologist can look forward, that of Membership of the French Academy of Inscriptions. M. Schlumberger's letter, as read by Mr. Head, is as follows :—

Paris, 37 Avenue d'Antin,
24 Mai, 1903.

" Monsieur,

Je ne puis vous exprimer combien la nouvelle de l'honneur insigne que m'a conféré, sur votre proposition, la Société Numismatique de Londres, me touche, me flatte et m'honore. Je vous prie d'être assez bon pour être l'interprète de ma gratitude

avant de votre illustre compagnie, car, à mon extrême regret, il m'est matériellement impossible de me rendre à Londres. Aucune récompense ne pouvait m'être plus précieuse. Veuillez en assurer vos savants confrères. Il me reste à vous dire, Monsieur et cher confrère, ma gratitude profonde pour votre si aimable et dattouse initiative qui me touche profondément. Je suis fier de penser que mes modestes travaux m'ont valu une telle distinction. Veuillez Monsieur et cher confrère, croire à l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués et très reconnaissants.

GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER,
de l'Institut de France."

The President then delivered the following address :—

The year that has just closed has been more eventful than usual in the annals of the Society. We have unfortunately lost our Honorary Treasurer by death ; we have unexpectedly, in consequence of the winding-up of the old-established business of Virtue & Co., Lim^t., been compelled to place our printing in new hands, those of Messrs. W. Clowes & Sons, Lim^t. ; and there has been some excitement in the Society with regard to a proposed change in a Rule which the Council, on due consideration, and having regard to the necessities of the Editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, have not been able to accept. Their reasons for this action have been explained in a short statement that has been circulated among the Members.

The number of those whom the busy hand of death has removed from among us has, I am glad to say, been only six, but the resignations from various causes have been far more numerous than usual, amounting to nine in all, a diminution in our numbers which all must regard with regret.

On the other hand, we may congratulate ourselves on the accession of fifteen Members, so that our total number of

Ordinary Members, 268, remains at nearly the same level as that of last year, 270.

Our finances, as you will have heard from the Report of our excellent present Honorary Treasurer, Mr. W. C. Boyd, are in a satisfactory condition.

Our medal has this year been bestowed on a highly distinguished foreign numismatist, M. Léon Gustave Schlumberger of Paris.

We have added the name of Oberst-Lieutenant M. Bahrfeldt of Halle to our List of Honorary Members, from which, however, the distinguished name of Baron Vladimir von Tiesenhausen has to be removed on account of his lamented decease.

It is as nearly as may be two years since, at our Anniversary Meeting in 1901, I placed our medal in the hands of Dr. Codrington for transmission to Baron von Tiesenhausen. It had been awarded to him by the Council in recognition of his long and valuable services to Oriental Numismatics, especially in connection with the coinages of the Khalifs. On that occasion I pointed out that his numismatic labours had commenced so long ago as 1855, and I cited some of his principal works, such as his *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux* and his *Recueil de Matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Monnaie d'Or*. I may now just mention his "account of two hoards of Cuño coins found in Russia,"¹ his notes on the collections of Oriental Coins belonging to Count Stroganoff, to General Komaroff, and to M. N. P. Linovitch, and a paper on an unknown Dirhem which appeared in 1900. He was long regarded as a chief among the students of Mohammedan numismatics, and many will deeply regret his loss.

Mr. Alfred E. Copp joined our Society in the year 1877, and in 1879 succeeded Mr. J. F. Neck in the post of Honorary Treasurer—a post which he held from that time

¹ *Num. Zeitschr.* 1871.

until the day of his death, October 7, 1902. On his accession to office the invested funds of the Society amounted to £409 consols, while in June 1902 our capital consisted of £700—London and North Western Railway 4% Preference Stock of the present value of about £900, or more than double what it was twenty-three years previously. A better testimony to the assiduous care of our finances by our Honorary Treasurer can hardly be offered. Mr. Copp, however, did not confine his attention to the current coins of the realm, but took a warm interest in those of an earlier date, of which he not infrequently exhibited specimens at our meetings. In my last address, unaware that we were so soon to lose his valuable services, I made mention of some beautiful *plaques* by Simon Passé, that he had recently brought under our notice. While mourning the loss of Mr. Copp, I feel that I cannot do otherwise than take this opportunity of offering our warmest thanks to Mr. Boyd for so readily undertaking the somewhat onerous duties of the Honorary Treasurership of the Society, and of expressing a hope that he may long be spared to look after our interests in every department.

Mr. Syar Cuming joined the Society in 1875, but though a diligent antiquary he never communicated anything to our publications. It is, however, hardly an exaggeration to say that he favoured the British Archaeological Association with innumerable papers and notes on an infinite variety of subjects, among which coins and medals occasionally appear. Medals relating to Mary Stuart, to the Old and Young Pretenders, to the Virgin Mary and St. Benedict, to Porto Bello and Culloden, the Lee penny and *memento mori*, were all in turn the subjects of his researches. When his extensive collections—which, with a sum for their maintenance, have been bequeathed to the Borough of Lambeth—come to be arranged, it will I think be found that they consist of more multifarious objects than exist in any other museum, and that there is hardly a phase of domestic life or of national industry

but will receive some illustration from the collections formed by Mr. Syer Cuming with such unceasing zeal through a long life.

In Mr. John G. Murdoch, who died on July 22, 1902, we have lost an ardent and intelligent collector, whose refined taste and critical judgment are well exhibited in the magnificent collection of coins and medals, which are now, alas! in process of dispersion under the hammer.

I must now, in accordance with my usual custom, pass in review the Papers that have either been read before the Society or communicated to the pages of the *Nomismatic Chronicle*. As in former years they cover a wide field, both chronologically and geographically.

In Greek numismatics Mr. Wroth has been so good as to give us another of his valuable papers relating to recent acquisitions by the British Museum. In the year 1901 these were no less than 1069 in number, including 38 of gold and 411 of silver. Among the coins may be mentioned as specially worthy of notice an early obol of Larissa, showing the nymph seated on a hydria, and replacing one of her sandals which has become loose during her efforts to while away the time at the fountain by a game of ball. It is a wonderful 4th century B.C. picture in a circle of less than half-an-inch in diameter. A tetradrachm of Euboea is a fine specimen of late 5th century work. A bronze coin of Eretria of the time of Commodus, with a triple bust on the reverse, is of great rarity and interest, whether the faces be male or female. A coin of Aegium, of the time of Antoninus Pius, shows the figure of the boy Zeus on the reverse, doubtless taken from the bronze statue by Ageladas that was seen and described by Pausanias.

A remarkable Aeginetic didrachm of the Federation of Achaeian Cities, probably dating from about the middle of the 4th century B.C., demands attention on account of the wonderful female head in profile on the obverse. It was

also probably struck in Aegium. Coins of the Cilician Nissæ of Lydia with a bull's head, and of Sile in Pamphylia with Asklepios, and of Cremna, with the word DONATIO on the reverse, the equivalent of ΔΩΡΕΑ, are also worthy of notice. The Trustees of the British Museum are much to be congratulated on the value and interest of these accessions to the Greek Series.

To Mr. George Macdonald, whose labours in connection with the Hunter Collection at Glasgow are beyond all praise, we are indebted for a Paper on the Coinage of Tigranes I. He regards the duration of his coinage as having extended over fourteen years, which he divides into three periods, the coins of the second and third being dated. The earliest bears the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ simply; the second that of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, while those of the third revert to the title on the first. Coins in silver and copper are known of all three classes, the reverse type on the silver pieces being in all cases the Tyche of Antioch.

In Roman numismatics we have to thank Mr. Grueber for an exhaustive account of the Roman copper money of the first century B.C., in which he traces the issue of the coins, not only at Rome, but in Spain, Gaul, and the East. At Rome the coinage, which had been in abeyance since 80 B.C., was partially revived about 44 B.C., but did not become continuous again until about 14 B.C. At that time the as and quadrans were of copper and the *sestertius* and *dipondius* of *orichalcum*, a metal which analysis shows consisted of about three parts copper to one of zinc. This compound was regarded as being of twice the intrinsic value of copper. The letters C. A. on the reverse of the fine copper coins of Augustus struck in the East, are regarded by the author as significant of *Commune Asiae*, or some other Latin form of KOINON ΑΣΙΑΣ.

M. Jules Maurice has favoured us with another of his valuable monographs on the issues of certain Roman mints

during the Constantine Period. On this occasion it is the Mint of Alexandria to which he directs our attention. He classes the coins under no less than eleven issues, beginning with A.D. 305 and ending with the small pieces struck after the death of Constantine the Great in A.D. 337. Like former Papers by the same author, this essay will be found of great assistance to those who have to undertake the difficult task of arranging the coins struck by the numerous Emperors and Caesars of the close of the third and the first half of the fourth century of our Era.

In a Paper on Some Rare or Unpublished Roman Coins, I have called attention to a considerable number of interesting pieces which with one exception are in my own cabinet. One of the small silver coins of the time of Galba is remarkable as having been found in this country, and as presenting a new type of the "Hispaniarum et Galliarum Concordia." A series of gold coins, for the most part from Egyptian hoards, give some new varieties of the days of Septimius Severus and his successors, while the *areus* of Balbinus adds a new name to the Roman gold series, and some hitherto unknown coins of Carausius, both of gold and silver, are of especial interest to British numismatists. We have had brought before us several notices of finds of Roman coins. Mr. Boyd has described a hoard of six or seven hundred coins from the time of Valerian to that of Aurelian, found near Romorantin in the Department of the Loire. Mr. Haverfield has given us lists of two hoards of much the same period, from Brighton and Eastbourne, and of another of somewhat later date coming down to the Constantine Period, unearthed at Easton near Norwich. An earlier hoard of denarii from Tiberius to Faustina II., found near Caistor by Norwich, has also been described by Mr. Haverfield.

Mr. Hill has given us a list of a small hoard from the time of Agrippa to that of Vespasian found during excavations in Southwark, and Mr. Percy H. Webb has described a number

of coins found on the rebuilding of Carpenters' Hall in 1872, among which are Roman and Byzantine coins of very various dates.

In the domain of Anglo-Saxon numismatics the indefatigable Mr. Grueber has placed on record particulars of an extremely interesting small hoard of coins of the time of Alfred recently discovered near Stamford. One of them, struck at Lincoln, has the name of the moneyer, Heribald, upon the obverse, instead of that of the king. Two half-pence are of an unpublished type, and bear on the reverse a monogram formed of the letters A and w, somewhat in the manner of that upon certain Merovingian *tricentes*. Several of the coins are Danish copies of those of Alfred, as was the case in the great Cuerdale hoard.

Some curious coins of Eadgar, with remarkable florid reverses, have also been described by Mr. Grueber, who in the same paper has noticed a rare noble of Henry VI belonging to his first or annulet coinage.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton has called attention to a rare penny of Reginald I. of Northumbria with the hammer of Thor on the obverse and a bow and arrow on the reverse. In a later Paper he has given an exhaustive account of the coinage of Edward the Confessor and attempted a slightly novel arrangement of the types, relying to a great extent on certain historical data.

I must now direct your attention to what has been done with regard to our post-Conquest numismatics.

The long and important Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I., by Mr. W. J. Andrew, which occupies the First Volume of the Fourth Series of the *Chronicle*, has been the subject of a considerable amount of criticism. Some notes upon it by Messrs. C. G. Crump and C. Johnson of the Record Office appeared in the *Chronicle*, but it must not be forgotten that for the opinions therein expressed the authors alone and not the editors are responsible. The

authors have corrected some few errors of their own, including one of some importance as to the date of the building of the Cathedral of Exeter, in Part I. of the *Chronicle* for the present year.

Mr. J. H. Round, in the *English Historical Review*,¹ has also commented on Mr. Andrew's History, mainly in connection with the Mint of Colchester. It is not for me here to say whether the critics are right or wrong as to facts, but when we consider the vast area of the field covered by Mr. Andrew, we must feel that it would be strange indeed if he did not occasionally fall into error. As numismatists we must all acknowledge our indebtedness to him for the immense labour that he undertook in collecting particulars of all the known coins of Henry I., and for the skill shown in the difficult task of arranging their types. Very possibly he may have been in error in regarding certain remissions, of which we have evidence in records, as being credited to the wrong fund, but he himself must be credited with first calling marked attention to the fact that these remissions, on the ground of defect of moneyers at certain mints, have a direct bearing on the history of the coinage. If but one moneyer worked at a certain place for a given time instead of four, it is evident that the type issued at that time would at that mint be relatively scarce, and if no moneyers were at work the type would be absent. The reasons for the shortness or total want of moneyers at certain mints in certain years may or may not be absolutely those suggested by Mr. Andrew; but though in many cases the evidence is of necessity negative in character, he has contributed to our studies a good working hypothesis which may eventually lead to a more perfect knowledge of the numismatic history of Norman times. For this we should all be grateful.

With regard to the connection of a local coinage, with the absence or presence of the grantees of the mint within his

¹ Vol. xviii., p. 305.

demesne, I am inclined to think that we have not as yet heard the last word.

Mr. Grueber has laid before us an account of a large hoard of silver coins lately discovered at Colchester. Nearly 11,000 pieces were present, mainly English, of the short-cross type, but also a fair number of Irish and Scottish pennies and a few foreign deniers. A careful analysis of the coins has enabled the author to add some new names of moneyers to the lists already published; but on the whole the examination of this large hoard has resulted in confirming the views that I brought forward nearly forty years ago, viz., that the short-cross pennies bearing the name of HENRICUS were struck not only under Henry II., but throughout the reigns of Richard I. and John, and during the first years of Henry III., until the introduction of the long-cross type in the year 1248.

Mr. F. A. Walters has supplemented his exhaustive Paper of last year, on the Silver Coinage of Henry VI., by a Paper on the Gold Coinage of that monarch. He showed that the bulk of Henry's gold coins were struck in the early part of his reign, and he was therefore inclined to assign the annulet rather than the trefoil coinage to his mints. He suggested that the flag of the ship on the nobles and half-nobles is indicative of the coins bearing it having been struck at Calais, and that the fleur-de-lis on the stern of the ship in other cases may indicate their having been struck at York. When the Paper has been printed we shall be better able to examine the cogency of these suggestions, which at first sight have much to commend them. That as to the fleur-de-lis being the symbol of York is to my mind more hazardous than the others, but may after all have a solid foundation.

Coming down to the later times, I find the Rev. G. Searle calling attention to about fifty sixteenth-century Tradesmen's Tokens, not given in Williamson's edition of Boyne. The majority, as might be expected, are of London, but I am

interested in noting two unpublished Hertfordshire Tokens in the List.

Mr. Pritchard has also favoured us with a supplementary note on the Bristol Tokens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, mainly relating to varieties of those already published, but also including a new and unpublished Private Token.

An engraved and unique naval reward medal, presented to Mr. John Breton, pilot to H.M.S. "Crescent," has been the subject of an interesting account by Mr. Bardassano and Mr. Grueber.

In Oriental numismatics we have had descriptions of some rare coins of the Khalifs of Baghdad, both Umayad and Abbas, struck at various mints, from the pen of Dr. Codrington.

Mr. Longworth Davies has given us an account of some of the Coins of the Moghul Emperors, struck at the numerous mints within their wide-spread dominions.

The coinage of the East India Company has been carefully discussed by Mr. J. M. C. Johnston. The subject is none the less difficult on account of so large a proportion of the Company's coins having in these early days been struck in the names of Moghul Emperors and Native Princes.

I must now call your attention to some of the numismatic publications of the past year, and in doing so must acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Grueber for assistance in preparing a portion of these short notices.

Another volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, the twenty third of the series begun in 1873, has recently been published. It relates to the Coins of Parthia, and has been compiled by Mr. Warwick Wroth. It is illustrated by a map and thirty-seven autotype plates. The coins of the Arsacidae, with the exception of those of early date, do not perhaps possess the same attractions, either as works of art or as historical monuments as most of the other Greek

series. There are, however, mysteries as to chronology, identification and classification, which have attractions of their own, and in this country both Professor Perry Gardner and Mr. Warwick Wroth have found a special interest in working on these Parthian coins. A Paper by the latter on the rearrangement of the series, principally that portion of it that is anterior to the time of Phraates IV., appeared in 1900 in the *Nuismatic Chronicle*, and the lines then laid down have been followed in the Catalogue. I cannot pretend to pass an opinion on the merits of this book, but on the face of it an immense amount of patient labour has been bestowed upon it, the Indices and Introduction are all that could be desired, and the Plates give admirable reproductions of the coins.

Another important work on Greek numismatics is Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's second and concluding part of his *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, which deals with rare and unpublished coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cilicia and Galatia, with an Appendix. Such a work needs no commendation on my part, as the great value and interest of all Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's publications are so well known to Greek numismatists, who will find in this volume not only much fresh information but also the identification and elucidation of many coins hitherto classed as "Uncertain." Illustrations are given of all the more important pieces, and full indices are supplied for reference.

Mr. G. F. Hill has added to his already numerous numismatic works a volume on the *Coins of Ancient Sicily*. In his Preface he tells us, "It is a conviction of the high interest to all students of antiquity and lovers of art of many things in the history of Sicilian coinage, which are hidden away in special highly technical publications, that has suggested the compilation of this book." Holm in his *Geschichte Siziliens im Alterthum* has described the Sicilian coins in the form of a Catalogue; and Mr. Arthur Evans, in the fourth volume of

Freeman's *History of Sicily*, has discussed them rather from an economic and political view, though his valuable papers on Syracusan Medallions and Artists' signatures on Sicilian coins in the *Nomismatique Chronicle* deal with the coins of Syracuse, both from the chronological and the artistic standpoint. Mr. Hill is inclined to confine himself more especially to the numismatic and artistic interest of the series. In consequence the attention of the reader is not disturbed by long and minute descriptions of the coins, though he fully explains their types and historical import. The introductory chapter, which gives a brief sketch of Sicilian history, is a fitting prelude to the main subject. The book is well illustrated by blocks and collotype plates, the latter being admirably executed.

M. Théodore Reinach has collected, under the title *L'Histoire par les Monnaies*, a number of his contributions to archaeological periodicals within the last fifteen years. As the title implies, the volume is mainly concerned with numismatics as applied to the elucidation of history. Among the many important articles included I may mention that on the relation between gold and silver in antiquity, as well as the brilliant suggestion that the supposed artist "Arrugas," mentioned by Pliny, is a myth originating in a decadrachm of Aeragas having been let into the bottom of a silver cup. The discovery of a new King of Bithynia and the identification of the Bithynian sculptor of the *Venus accroupie* as Doedalos, and not, as hitherto supposed, Daedalus, may be mentioned as being of special interest among the twenty-five subjects which are discussed in the volume.

In concluding this short address, I must again thank the Society for the indulgence which for so many years it has extended to me, and express a hope that the Temple of Janus may now be closed, and that the future years of the Numismatic Society may be blessed with peace and prosperity.

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address was moved by Professor Percy Gardner, seconded by Sir Augustus Prevost, and carried unanimously.

The President announced to the meeting the result of the Ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, which was:—

President.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D.,
F.R.S., V.P.S.A., F.G.S.

Vice Presidents.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR AUGUSTUS PREVOST, BART., B.A., F.S.A.

Hon. Treasurer.

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PROF. EDWARD J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

Foreign Secretary.

GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.

Hon. Librarian.

OLIVER CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.

Members of the Council.

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STEPHEN W. BUSHELL, Esq., M.D., C.M.G.
JADE EVANS.
PROF. PERCY GARDNER, M.A., LITT.D., F.S.A.
BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq., D.C.L., PH.D.
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